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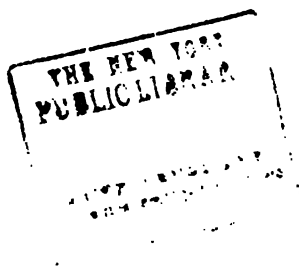


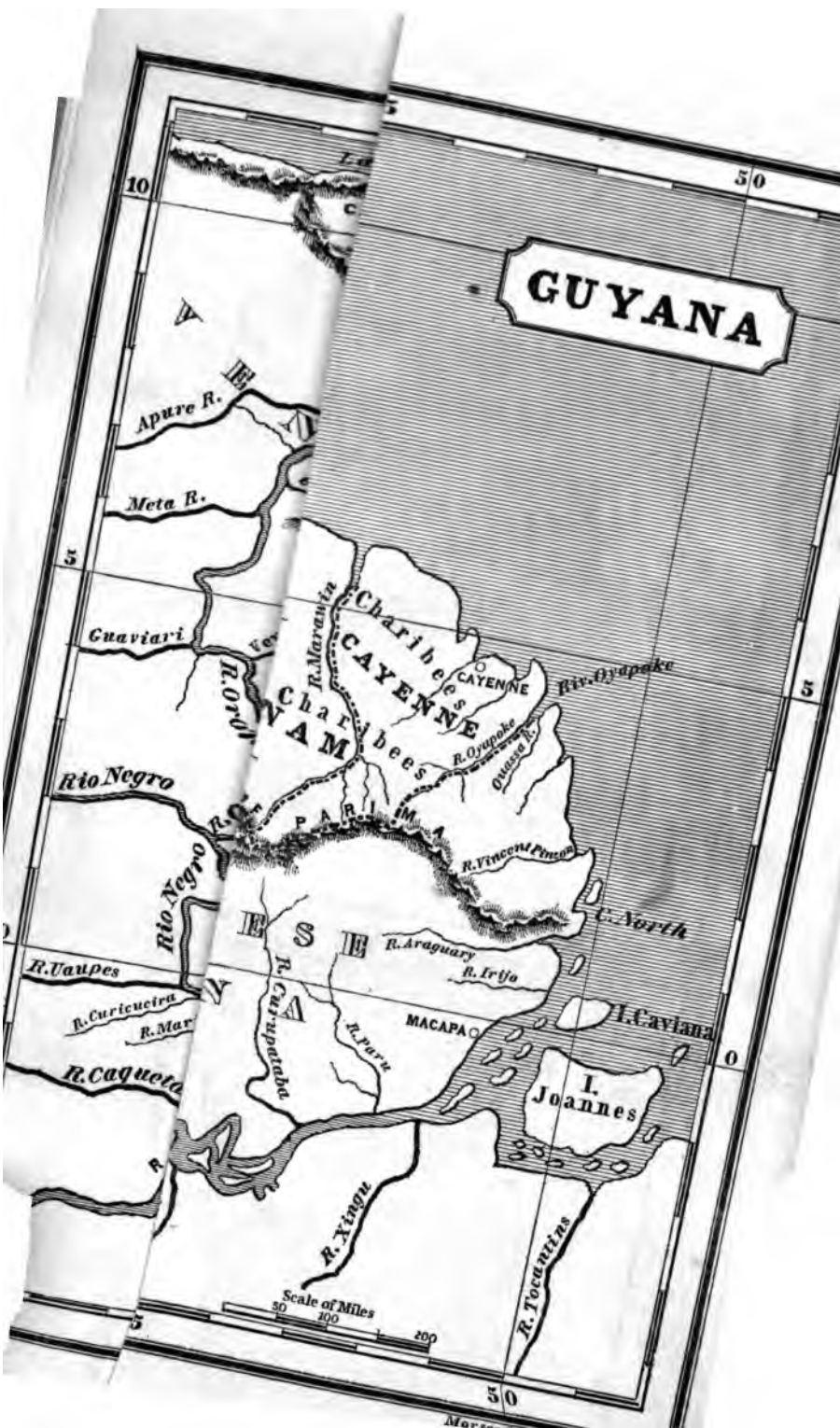


EL DORADO.

1871







# EL DORADO;

BEING A NARRATIVE

OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH GAVE RISE TO REPORTS, IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,  
OF THE EXISTENCE OF A

## RICH AND SPLENDID CITY

IN SOUTH AMERICA,

TO WHICH THAT NAME WAS GIVEN, AND WHICH LED TO MANY ENTERPRISES IN SEARCH OF IT;

INCLUDING A

### DEFENCE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH,

IN REGARD TO THE RELATIONS MADE BY HIM RESPECTING IT, AND A  
NATION OF FEMALE WARRIORS, IN THE VICINITY OF THE AMAZON,  
IN THE NARRATIVE OF HIS EXPEDITION TO THE ORONOKE IN 1585.

WITH A MAP.

BY J. A. VAN HEUVEL



New-York :

J. WINCHESTER, NEW WORLD PRESS,

30 ANN STREET.

1877

Entered according to Act of Congress, by  
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## INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the distinguished names which shine in the pages of Modern History, scarce any holds a more conspicuous place than Sir Walter Raleigh. And equally to an American as to the inhabitants of his own country, is his history interesting, as his enterprising spirit first led to the discovery of that part of North America which is now the United States; and made the first attempts to colonize it—whence he has been called the Father of American Colonization. His brilliant and varied talents, his bold and daring genius, his chivalric courage; his services to his country, both by land and sea, which were the fruits of these qualities, particularly his maritime expeditions; combined with his ardent love of science and his extensive knowledge—and in the end, his melancholy fate, have often been portrayed by writers of his own country, with enthusiastic admiration, mingled with deep sympathy and regret. A portion of his life may, however, it is believed, even now, from a further knowledge of facts, be more fully elucidated.

The melancholy catastrophe of it, had its origin in various expeditions which he made during a long period to Guyana, in South America, in pursuit of the fabled city of El Dorado—supposed by him—to be within its limits and of the rich mineral treasures with which it abounded. But this part of his life has been less particularly examined than any other. While the sentence against him has been denounced, with unqualified condemnation, by historians generally, for the grounds on which it was founded, as unjust, tyrannical and oppressive; the censures he became subject to, from the representations he made of that country, as a weak victim to credulity, or the dishonest fabricator of the glowing accounts he gave of it, made, it was alleged, with the view of regaining the favor of an offended sovereign, have continued, yet, to throw some shade on the fame of this illustrious man.

My attention has been directed to this portion of his life, by a visit I made, some years since, to a part of British Guyana; which led me to consult cotemporary voyagers to that and other parts of Guyana, and later writers, who have described it; and the result of my careful investigation of the subject, aided by a few facts I then obtained, has thrown some light on the Narrative of his first voyage to that region, which furnished the ground of the invectives of his enemies; and enabled me to place his character, in regard to it, in a more advantageous light than it has heretofore been viewed in.

Some relations made by him of very singular tribes of Indians, in the vicinity of the Oronoke and Amazon, which contributed to impair the credibility of his statements generally, by exhibiting him to those disposed to condemn him, without examination, as a credulous dealer in fabulous romantic narratives; in particular, his remarkable account of a nation of female warriors, whom Hume, in his unlimited invective against him, styles his "Republic of Amazons," have also been the subject of my examination; and which has, I believe, resulted in an entire vindication of him in respect to them.

It is the object of these pages to exhibit the facts I have collected on the subjects I have examined, and the conclusions I have formed upon them; which will be done with a strict regard to truth and historical accuracy, without aiming at embellishment; and for his defence, I rely on a simple presentation of them, founded as they will be, on unimpeachable testimony; believing that thus greater justice will be done to his memory, than by attempting a general eulogy on his character, which is not required, and would be a useless effort, after the numerous panegyrics upon him which have proceeded from the ablest pens.

HEUVELTON, ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY, New-York, Jan. 20, 1844.

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# EL DORADO.

## CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH—HIS ATTEMPTS TO COLONIZE VIRGINIA—INCURS THE DISPLEASURE OF THE QUEEN, AND HIS EXILE FROM COURT—BEGINS TO ENTERTAIN THE SCHEME OF THE CONQUEST OF GUYANA AND THE DISCOVERY OF EL DORADO—ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THIS CHIMERA AND OF VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS BY THE SPANIARDS IN PURSUIT OF IT.

FEW men have, at any time, appeared on the public stage, who united in their character such an assemblage of brilliant qualities as SIR WALTER RALEIGH. His physical and mental endowments were alike conspicuous. Formed by nature in the finest mould, and his constitution possessed both of vigor and agility—an active life would seem to have been that for which he was peculiarly qualified, while an intellect of varied powers, fitted him equally for the investigation of science and the pursuit of literature. We see him, at one time employed in the military service of his country, or on bold and daring maritime expeditions; at another, when retired from public scenes, devoting his time with the most patient assiduity to grave and laborious studies, and employing his pen in giving to the world the results of his investigations. "When we view his actions," says Mr. Cayley, one of his biographers, from whom I have taken my principal facts in his life, "we are astonished at the number of his writings. Viewing his writings, we wonder he had time for so much action."\* And not only was his philosophic genius employed in the study of History and Philosophy, moral and natural in all its branches; he sometimes, also, recreated himself in the flowery walks of imagination. The verses which he wrote, at different times, are very favorable specimens of his poetical talent; and it is the opinion of a cotemporary, that had he devoted himself to the cultivation of it, he would have arrived at as much distinction in this as any other department of literature, or as he attained in any sphere in which he moved in public life.

When arrived at manhood and entered into public service, he soon discovered a genius for enterprise and the pursuit of foreign discovery.

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, 2nd vol. p. 135. The edition referred to in this and future quotations, is the second London, 1806.

To that object his active life was mainly devoted—and when not engaged abroad, or on public duties at home, his hours of leisure were directed to the pursuit of knowledge ; and he discovered the happy effects of the union of an inquisitive mind—which led him to seek information in every direction, of foreign countries—with an enterprising genius, in forming plans for their discovery ; and great activity, energy and perseverance, in carrying them into execution. This combination of various qualities, made him the admiration of the age in which he lived, and one of the most distinguished men of his country ; but had, likewise, the effect of raising against him a number of rivals, envious of his talents and influence, who at length undermined him—and, combined with political circumstances, caused his unhappy fate.

“He had the advantage,” says Mr. Cayley, “of entering life under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so distinguished for the vigor and success of her government, and the variety of important events occurring in the course of it, and at a period of unusual political activity to exercise and encourage his genius.” And he early discovered indications of that brave and daring spirit, and love of enterprise, which distinguished him through life. When he had just arrived in his seventeenth year, he engaged as one of a troop of well-equipped volunteers, who, under permission from the Queen, marched into France to assist the Huguenots. “He remained in France four years ; and as, during this whole period, there was a constant succession of battles, sieges, and treaties, he had a very advantageous opportunity to form his military character.” He was next employed in Holland. The Queen having broken her peace with Spain, and agreed to supply the States with men and money, a force was sent there by her, which Raleigh accompanied. On his return in 1579, being then in his twenty-seventh year, he exchanged the service on land for that on the sea ; and then appeared the first development of that spirit of maritime enterprise and foreign discovery, which was the leading feature of his life.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his relative, obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth for planting and inhabiting certain northern parts of America, which extended beyond the twenty-fifth degree of N. Lat., unpossessed by any of her allies ; and young Raleigh readily engaged in the adventure. Many others entered into the cause. When the shipping was prepared, however, unanimity was wanting, and the majority separated ; leaving Sir Humphrey to prosecute the adventure with only a few of his most faithful adherents—among whom was Raleigh. With these few he ventured to sea, and, after a smart action with the Spaniards, was compelled to return home with the loss of a large ship.

The early period at which Raleigh entered into the public service, deprived him of the advantages of extended education. Of his childhood, no circumstance has been preserved ; and it is not known even, at what school he had been admitted. But it is agreed by Lord Bacon and some other writers of that period, that he studied a few years at the University of Oxford. From what causes he broke so early from his studies, and

enlisted in a band of youthful volunteers to aid the Protestants of France, is not known : but it is clear it did not arise from a disrelish for study and the pursuit of knowledge. He soon became sensible of the deficiency in his education, "and, amid the anxious and troublesome life of a soldier, endeavored to repair it. Of the twenty-four hours, only five were allowed for sleep, and four were devoted to study ; while he voluntarily shared, in his land and sea expeditions, the labors, hardships, and hazards of the meanest of his companions."

After this he was engaged in Ireland in military affairs. The Roman Catholics there, instigated by the King of Spain and the Pope, were on the eve of a general revolution ; and to subdue them, a force was sent over by the Government, in which Raleigh held a commission as captain. Very honorable mention is made by an historian of his services in this rebellion. He was one of four companies deputed by the Commander of the troops to attack a fort built by the Spaniards, in which he exhibited great activity and bravery ; and after a siege of five days, the fort surrendered at discretion. In other actions he displayed the same spirit, address, and courage.

"It was probably about this time, that Spenser the poet, who had been appointed by Lord Grey—the deputy—his secretary, contracted that friendship with Raleigh, which proved so beneficial to him in Raleigh's more advanced fortunes ; for after Sir Philip Sidney's death, he was his chief patron and friend."

"Raleigh's services in Ireland, were of themselves sufficient to recommend him to the favor of Queen Elizabeth. But tradition has related an incident which ascribes to his gallantry, his first introduction to his sovereign. The Queen in her walks, met one day, it is said, a dirty spot on the road, which made her hesitate about proceeding. Raleigh, whose person was handsome and his address graceful, threw off his new plush mantle and spread it for her majesty, who trod over the fair carpet, surprised and pleased at the adventure."

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, four years after his unsuccessful voyage, made another expedition to Newfoundland, and Raleigh determined to hold a share in it, though he did not accompany it ; and fitted out a vessel of two hundred tons to join it, at his own expense. The fleet sailed on the eleventh of June, 1583. His vessel was obliged to part from it, by a contagious distemper, and returned to England in great distress. Sir Humphrey reached Newfoundland, and took possession of it ; but on his return two of his vessels were lost, in one of which he himself perished.\*

Raleigh's mind appears now to have become entirely devoted to the pursuit of foreign discoveries, and his enterprising genius found an ample field on which to exert itself. The ill success of his relative, had little influence in damping his ardor. Other regions in North America lay yet to be explored. On examining the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards, he found that they had not extended beyond the Gulf of Mexico,

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, vol. 1. p. 10-13.  
1\*

and that a large extent of country lay north of it, which he thought might be worth colonizing, and he resolved to attempt it.

Having prepared his plan, he laid it before the Queen and council, and it meeting with their approbation, she granted him her letters patent, dated March the twenty-fifth, 1584, "to discover such remote barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christain people."

No sooner was the patent obtained, than he, with some associates, equipped two vessels for an American voyage, commanded by Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlowe, which went to sea on the twenty-seventh of April, 1584, and arrived the fourth day of July succeeding, on the coast of North Carolina, and cast anchor at the Island of Roanoke, of which they took possession in right of the Queen, and to the use of Raleigh. An amicable intercourse was held by them with the Indians, but they made no settlement on it, and returned to England satisfied with having obtained a knowledge of the country; and as a record of their having taken possession of it, drew up an account of the voyage of discovery and landing, addressed to Raleigh, and signed by some of the principal persons who were present.

Raleigh laid before Queen Elizabeth the account he had received of the country, visited by the ships, with which she was so pleased, that, "either because this was the first discovery of it, or it was discovered under her reign, she conferred on it the name of Virginia," embracing all the undiscovered portion of North America.

At that period, produced no doubt by the spirit with which he prosecuted these voyages of discovery, and the success which had attended them, he had risen high in public notice, and in favor of the Queen. "On the approaching session of Parliament he was so well supported, that he was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Devon; and it was probably about this time that he received the honor of knighthood." \*

The favorable report made by Barlowe and Amidas of this country, induced Raleigh to make another expedition to it. Early in 1585, seven sail were ready for sea, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Grenville; and the squadron sailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April, having on board a colony of about one hundred men, to be planted in that country under the government of Mr. Lane.† The fleet came to anchor on the coast of North Carolina, and, after landing at several places to discover the country, fixed upon a site for a settlement.‡ The next year Sir Walter Raleigh, at his own charge, prepared a ship of one hundred tuns, provided with plentiful supplies for the relief of the colony. But before it arrived, the colony being visited by Sir Francis Drake with a fleet, the colonists, in consequence of not receiving the supplies, growing despondent, solicited him to take them home with him to England; which request he granted, and the settlement was broken up.§

The year after, Sir Walter Raleigh sent out another colony there, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Mr. John

White, with twelve assistants, whom he incorporated under the name of "Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia." The vessel reached its destination, and the colonists were landed. They urged the Governor, however, to return for fresh supplies, to which he consented, and Raleigh on his arrival in England prepared to send them; but the apprehension in England of a Spanish invasion, calling in requisition every vessel, he experienced some delay in making his preparations. Finally, he sent two pinnaces with the supplies; but one having been taken at sea, and stripped, they both returned to England without accomplishing their purpose, to the distress of the colony, and the vexation of its proprietors.

"Experience having now taught him the real, and almost insurmountable difficulties which he, as a proprietor, had to encounter in the establishment of this colony, and after having expended a large sum upon it, he at last determined to assign over to a company in London the right confirming it, reserving to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore."\*

Sir Walter Raleigh, I have observed, has been called the father of American colonization; for before his enterprises, which have been related, were made, no colony was established in any part of North America; and they probably, by drawing public attention to this hemisphere, led to those which were subsequently sent to the more northern portions of it, and the settlement of New England.

"He had now raised himself, principally by his individual merit, to a station of rank and distinction, and was particularly favored by his sovereign, in a reign in which the royal munificence was confessedly apportioned with economy, though with discernment."

Circumstances, however, soon occurred, which laid the foundation of all the future troubles that befell him. The jealousy which the Earl of Leicester, the favorite Minister of Queen Elizabeth, began to entertain of his rising character, was exerted to undermine his influence at court; and dying soon after, it is believed he imparted his feelings to the Earl of Essex, his son-in-law and successor, who became, afterward, the rival competitor of Raleigh for the favor of the Queen.

The love of enterprise still continued to hold its sway in the mind of Raleigh, and we find him at this period engaged in an important naval expedition, which he with some of his friends, set on foot, and which resulted in the capture of one of the largest ships belonging to Portugal, and the richest prize that had ever been brought into England.

He had not been long returned from this expedition, when he began to feel the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth from an incident which occurred at court—but whether it was before or after he went to sea, does not appear; and whose dissatisfaction was so great, that she caused him to be sent to the Tower. He remained in confinement until late in September, 1592, and on his liberation proceeded to the west of England, to look after his share in the rich prize, which appears to have been great.

\* Cayley, vol. 1. pp. 127—144.

In the session of Parliament of the ensuing winter, he makes a conspicuous figure, and his endeavors to recover the royal favor seem speedily to have been crowned with success. He entertained the hope of being included in the list of privy counsellors; and the Queen made him a grant of the castle and manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which had been acquired by the Crown.\* But, notwithstanding the rewards he received for his public services, the Queen, from the incident which had occurred at court, although by his subsequent conduct he did all he could to make amends, never afterward regarded him with that complacency she did before.

Before the close of 1594, he retired to his castle at Sherborne,† either as a kind of honorable exile from the royal eye, or for the purpose of preparing and maturing a project which then engaged his mind. Foreign voyages of discovery, which had been the leading pursuits of his life, to which not only his time, but his fortune had been devoted, had not, it may be supposed, been forgotten by him. Although the colonization of Virginia was attended with so many obstacles that he was induced to relinquish it, his enterprising genius, combined with the extensive information he had acquired of the newly discovered hemisphere, could not fail to find other regions in which it might be exerted, and a field of exploration then opened upon him, that roused again his ardor for maritime enterprise and discovery.

In the words of Mr. Cayley, "In perusing the narratives of Spanish voyages, he had found frequent mention of the wealth of Guyana, and especially of the riches of the great and golden City of El Dorado. These flattering accounts of this land of magnificent promise having been confirmed to him by oral testimony, added to the circumstances in which he stood at court, made him resolve to attempt the conquest of it in behalf of her majesty."‡

And from this period commenced the expeditions which he successively made to South America, for the conquest of Guyana and the discovery of that splendid city; a project which thereafter engaged his principal attention, to which the remainder of his life was devoted, and for which it was, in the end, sacrificed.

By the aid of his friends, the lord high Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, one of the privy council, he provided a squadron which sailed on the sixth of February, 1595, for Guyana, and which he accompanied in person.

On his return he published the narrative of this voyage, which has been mentioned in the Introduction, containing, among other extraordinary relations, a repetition of the rumor of the existence of this splendid City of El Dorado, in the unexplored parts of South America, so long sought in vain, and which he described as situated in the interior of Guyana—relations which I propose to examine; and, in doing so, an attempt will be made to explain the origin of a fable, as I may in anticipation venture

\* Cayley, vol. 1. pp. 87–102.

† Cayley, vol. 1. p. 155.

‡ Cayley, vol. 1. p. 155.

to call it, which so dazzled the imaginations of the first conquerors of South America ;—for although it has now entirely passed away, as one of those illusions which have sometimes captivated the human mind and been forgotten, except “to point a moral or adorn a tale ;” \* it may be curious to know what circumstances, greatly magnified and embellished, have given rise to it.

Very soon after the discovery of America, and the conquests of the Spaniards in Peru, New Grenada, and Venezuela, a report reached them wherever they had established themselves, of the existence of a rich and splendid city, abounding in gold, yet undiscovered in the interior of South America, to which they gave the name of El Dorado. Such a rumor was well calculated to inflame the minds of the Spaniards, after having acquired possession of the rich cities of Quito and Cusco, and to excite in them an ardent desire for the discovery of this golden region. From the year 1535, the most expensive expeditions were made in pursuit of it ; and mostly from that period until 1560, “which,” says Mr. Southey in his *History of the Brazils*, “have cost Spain more than all the treasures she has received from her South American possessions.” Nor were they bold and daring adventurers alone, of no consideration, who entered on this pursuit. Some of the leaders were men of high official rank, who hoped, by success, to rival the fame and acquire the fortunes of a Cortéz or Pizarro.

To give an account of all these expeditions, would occupy too much space. A cursory relation of the principal of them, will be sufficient to explain the subject I propose to examine.

The first expedition for the discovery of this golden country, or El Dorado, was set on foot by Sebastian Belalcazar, who had the command in Peru ; and who, in 1535, sent two officers to seek it in the mountains between Pasto and Popayan ; but who returned without gaining any information respecting it.

It was next attempted in 1539, by Gonzalez Pizarro, brother of the conqueror of Peru. Having been appointed Governor of Quito, he prepared a very large expedition—to discover a country reported to be east of the Andes, and abounding in cinnamon trees, to which the Spaniards gave the name of Canelle—which consisted of four hundred horse. He pursued his course eastward ; and after crossing mountains, (a part of the Andes,) he came to a valley, called Zumaque, one hundred leagues from Quito. From this place, he went first northwardly, then eastwardly, and in a few days entered the country of the cinnamon trees. Not finding in it, however, a sufficient return for his toilsome expedition, and being unwilling to return to Quito without performing some great exploit, he embraced the project of discovering El Dorado. He communicated his design to Francis Orellana, who had joined him at the valley of Zumaque, with fifty horsemen, who encouraged him in it, and agreed to accompany him. Pizarro set out with one hundred soldiers, and proceeded directly toward the east. After many

\* The Spaniards have a proverb. “Happiness is only to be found in El Dorado, which no one yet has been able to reach.”

days toilsome march, he came to the river Napo, in the province of Cacas, the Cacique of which received him amicably, and informed him that, along the banks of another river, which was larger, he should find a country abundant in all things, and whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold. Pizarro, on receiving this intelligence, without loss of time placed himself at the head of his cavalry, and followed the course of the Napo forty-three days, through an uneven country, without finding any provisions; when he built a vessel to carry by water his sick and baggage, which he embarked in it, with fifty soldiers under the command of Orellana. Orellana for some time kept in company with him; but Pizarro having given him orders to go in search of provisions, as soon as he received them he launched out in the middle of the stream, and suffered himself to be carried down by the current, which was so rapid that in three days it took him one hundred leagues, and in nine days he came to the Amazon. He then conceived the project of discovering it, and separating himself from Pizarro; but concealing his design, persuaded his soldiers that the country to which they had come, was not that which Pizarro had described to them from the account of the Cacique; that they must necessarily float lower down to discover it. He then abandoned himself to the winds, and thought of nothing but pursuing the course of the river till he should discover it, to the sea. Pizarro, after his separation from him, returned to Quito, having wholly failed in the object of his pursuit. Orellana stopped at a town on the Amazon, at the mouth of the Napo, where he was courteously received, and the principal men came to him having gold plates on their breasts, besides jewels about them, and informed him of the great wealth there was farther down, and of another rich and mighty lord up the country. He proceeded three hundred leagues to the twenty-fourth of April, meeting with many good towns. On the twelfth of May he arrived at the province of Machiparo, which was very populous, where he was fiercely attacked by the Indians. This province bordered on that of Aomagua, (Omaguas.) From this place he continued his course to the ocean, not having obtained any information of the golden country; and his voyage is chiefly remarkable from his being the discoverer of this river, to which his name was first given; but which afterward received that of Amazon, or River of the Amazons, from the account he gave of a nation of warlike females upon it, whom he met with on his route, and with whom he had an encounter.\*

Another memorable expedition in pursuit of El Dorado, was that of Pedro de Orsua, a knight of Navarre. In the year 1560, a party of Brazilian savages, fleeing first from the Portuguese, then from the enemies they had made in their march, made their way, after a ten years' travel, into the province of Quito. They related, that they had passed through the province of the Omaguas, and that they had found it full of large towns, in which were whole streets of goldsmiths; that they had been kindly received there, and for some iron which they had in their posses-

\* Herrera's General History of America.



sion, they gave them shields which were covered with gold and set with emeralds. The Marquis of Canete, who had been appointed Viceroy of Peru, determined on sending an expedition in this direction, and gave the command of it to Orsua; who was equally gratified and desirous to undertake it. Building then two brigantines and some flat-bottomed boats on the Rio de los Motelones, a branch of the Guallago which falls into the Amazon, he proceeded with his company along the current of the Guallago into the Amazon. Arriving in this river, he descended it until he came to a village called Machifaro; but heard nothing in his whole route of the golden country. With the expedition went some of the Brazilians, upon whose information it had been undertaken, and one or two of the company of Orellana. All, however, were at a loss about the situation of the country. All they could say, was, that they supposed the country of the Omaguas was not far off, which Orsua thought probable, as they had now advanced, according to computation, more than seven hundred leagues. In this opinion he was doubtless correct, as Machiparo, or Machifaro, (Orellana states,) was next to the province of Aomagua. But, by this time murmurs and discontent began to arise among his men, which were instigated by a party whose object, in joining the expedition, was to turn back under Orsua, or some other leader, and attempt the conquest of Peru. A conspiracy was then formed, of which Aguirre was one of the principal leaders, and Orsua was attacked and murdered. The chiefs of the mutiny nominated Fernando Guzman to be their General. Another expedition was formed by Aguirre, having for its object the supplanting of Guzman in the command of the expedition; and he and a number of his supporters were killed. Aguirre pursued his course to the sea, (studiously avoiding the search for this golden country,) which he reached after encountering many hardships on his way, and thence proceeded to the Island of Marguerita. On his arrival there, determining to pursue his project of conquering Peru, he landed on the coast of Cumana, and thence went to Valencia; and after many crimes and daring actions in Venezuela, was put to death.\*

\* But it was from New Grenada, that the most expensive expeditions in pursuit of El Dorado, were undertaken. From the Promontory of Paria to Cape de la Vela, little figures of molten gold had been found in the hands of the natives, as early as the years 1498 and 1500. The principal markets for these ornaments, were the villages of Curiana (Coro,) and Cauchieto, near the Rio de la Hache. The metal employed by the founders of Cauchieto, came from a mountainous country more to the south. These indications of gold in that region, were sufficient to excite a desire in the conquerors of New Grenada, to endeavor to discover the sources from which it was obtained; and while their thoughts were thus directed to the object, their ardor in the pursuit was raised to the highest pitch, by accounts brought by the Indians. They reported, that by marching for a long time south, a region would be found on the banks of a great

\* Southey's Expedition of Orsua.

lake, inhabited by the Omaguas, who lived in a large city, the buildings of which were covered with silver; that the heads of the government and religion wore, when discharging their offices, habits of massy gold; that all their instruments, all their furniture were of gold, or at least of silver. In every part of Venezuela and Cumana, to which the European detachments directed their steps, they received the same accounts;—and by Indians too far separated by the distance of their abodes, to have invented a falsehood.\*

“Fully believing the truth of these reports,” observes Humboldt, “Geronimus de Ortal, Nicholas Federman, and Jorge de Espira, (George Von Speier,) in 1535 and 1536, undertook expeditions by land toward the south, and southwest, in pursuit of the country of the Omaguas.†

“George Von Speier left Coro, (1535,) and penetrated, by the mountains of Merida, to the banks of the Apure and Meta. He passed these two rivers near their sources, where they have but little breadth. The Indians told him, that farther on white men wandered in the plains. Speier, who imagined he was not far from the banks of the Amazon, had no doubt that these wandering Spaniards were men, unfortunately separated in an expedition undertaken by Diego de Ordaz, from another direction. We crossed,” he continues, “the savannas of San Juan de los Llanos, which were said to abound in gold; and made a long stay at an Indian village called Pueblo de Neustra Senora, and afterward in Fragua, southwest of the Paruma de la Suma Paz. I have been on the western bank of the group of the mountains of Fasagus, and there heard that the plains by which they skirted, toward the east, still enjoy some celebrity for wealth among the natives.

“Speier found, in the populous village of La Fragua, a Casa del Sol, (or temple of the sun,) and a convent of virgins, similar to those of Peru and New Grenada. Pursuing his way toward the south, and crossing the two branches of the Guavare, which are the Ariare and the Guayover, he arrived on the banks of the great river Papamena, or Caqueta. The resistance he met with during a whole year, in the province de los Chaques, put an end, in 1537, to this memorable expedition.

“Nicholas Federman, and Geronimo de Ortal, who in 1536 went from Maracapana and the mouth of the Rio Neveri, followed the traces of Jorge de Espira. The former sought for gold in the Rio Grande de Magdalena—the latter endeavored to discover a temple of the sun on the banks of the Meta.‡”

But, not to name all the enterprises undertaken for this object, the most distinguished of the adventurers, who sought it from this region, was Philip de Urra, or Utre, who commenced his expedition in 1541; his narrative of which excited more attention than any that had appeared, as he was the only one, of the many who had gone in pursuit of the golden country, who professed to have seen it. After setting out on his march, he came, by chance, to a place where he learned that Quesada had just

\* Humboldt's Pers. Nar.

† Humboldt's Pers. Nar. ch. xxiv.

‡ Humboldt's Pers. Nar., ch. xxiv.

passed, and he determined to follow his steps, and after many days toilsome travel, he arrived in the province of Pampamena. He took an Indian there to guide him; but when they had journeyed for eight days, through the most frightful places and difficult passes, he suddenly left him. The soldiers now began to murmur; and beginning to suffer hunger, he determined to return, but the rainy season prevented. As soon as the weather allowed, he took his way to Coro, and thought only of making fresh endeavors to discover the Golden City. From the Indians, through whose country he passed, he learned that there was a region inhabited by the Omegas, richer by far than any that had been discovered, but peopled with a warlike and ferocious race. As soon as the plains were no longer under water, he directed his march to that country; and, on his return, gave the following particular account of his expedition.

When he had marched until his army was reduced to forty men, the Indians conducted him to the river Guaynavo, on the opposite side of which, was the city of Macatoa. He sent a message to the Cacique, to request a passage through his country, and an alliance of friendship with him. This request was readily granted by the Cacique, and when informed of the object of the Spaniards, he told them that the country of the Omaguas was indeed, full of gold and silver, but that its population was so great, and also so warlike, that their attempt to conquer it with so small a body of men, was rash and impracticable. Urrá, however, was resolved to make it, and was furnished with guides by the Cacique, to the next one. From this Cacique, also, he received the same account and recommendation, but who agreed to accompany him to the first settlement of these formidable people. After four days' march, they arrived at a mountain, on ascending which, from the top of it they perceived four or five villages, surrounded by well-cultivated fields, and farther off a delightful vale, and a city of very large extent. Then the Cacique said to Urrá, "I promised to show you the Capital of the Omegas, and have fulfilled my promise. Behold this famous country, whose riches the Spaniards so ardently covet. That edifice which elevates itself in the centre of the city, is the residence of the Governor, and also the Temple; in which is an idol the size of a full grown woman, and the others the size of children four years old, all of massive gold. The population of the town is immense, and the order that reigns in it is admirable. Now, that you see the importance of the country, it is for you to reflect anew on the temerity of your project. If you persist in your design, I am under the necessity of leaving you." Urrá resolved to march to the city. On approaching the four or five villages that he had seen, he met on his way the Indian cultivators, who, struck with the sight of the Spaniards, white, bearded, and in a strange dress, took to flight. An hour afterward, the Spaniards heard in the city, a great noise of drums and other instruments of war, mingled with the most frightful cries. Night happily came on to favor their retreat. The next morning, at break of day, an army of fifteen thousand Omegas went in pursuit of them, who prepared for battle. The Spaniards displayed a

valor beyond imagination. Not one of them was killed, but Urra received a wound. They repulsed the Omegas, and covered the field of battle with their dead. They concluded, however, that it was not advisable to attempt the conquest of the Omegas, and fell back upon the town of the Cacique who had been their guide. Urra was there cured of his wound; and having obtained from him all the information he could, to render a second journey more easy, departed for Coro, with the intention of forming a new expedition for the same object, better adapted to it;—but before arriving at Coro, he, with his most faithful adherents, was assassinated by order of the pseudo Governor Carvajal.\*

This account of Urra, related with so many particulars, contributed, more than anything else, to keep alive the idea of the Golden City, or El Dorado; although, whatever circumstances may have laid a foundation for it, it is probably a very exaggerated relation; and the number of the army of the Omegas is, on a present view of the subject, calculated to give to the whole the air of an extravagant romantic fiction.

Various opinions have been entertained by writers, respecting the existence of this rich country of the Omaguas, or Omegas, or of any other region of that character, on which the rumor of El Dorado was founded. Southey, in his *History of Brazil*, considers the whole an entire illusion and fable, the origin of which he thus describes: "There were, along the whole coast of the Spanish Main, rumors of an inland country, which abounded with gold. These rumors undoubtedly related to the kingdoms of Bogota and Tunia, now New Grenada. Belalcazar, who was in quest of this country from Quito; Federman, who came from Venezuela; and Quesada, who sought it by the way of the Madalena, and who effected its conquest, met here. But in these countries, also, there were rumors of a rich land at a distance. Similar accounts prevailed in Peru, and the adventurers from both sides were allured to continue the pursuit after the game was taken. An imaginary kingdom was soon shaped out as the object of their quest, and stories concerning it were not more easily invented than believed." The relation given by Philip de Urra, of his discovery of the country of the Omegas, he considers a gross fabrication, without the least foundation.

Humboldt, on the other hand, who has examined the whole subject at length, expresses himself in regard to the narrative of Urra, as follows: "Of all the attempts made for the discovery of El Dorado, no one, anterior or posterior, furnishes to history materials less equivocal than that of Philip de Urra. It wants, nevertheless, a great deal for me to regard it as a proof of the riches and magnificence of the empire of the Omaguas or El Dorado. It is enough, however, to induce a belief of the existence of a warlike nation more civilized than the rest of the Indians, who had built, on the borders of the lake Parima, a large city, handsome, and well constructed, in comparison with the miserable hovels of which the disgust-

\* De Pons Caraccas, Vol. ii. p. 284, et seq.

ing hamlets of the Indians are composed; but, in fact, inferior to the most insignificant village in France."

Gumilla, in his History of the Oronoke, expresses his entire belief in the narrative of Urre. "I find it," he observes, "related with such an exact description of the country, as the missionaries of my province and myself have recognized, that I cannot doubt it. I have seen in the jurisdiction of Varinas, in the mountains of Pedrara, in 1721, the brass halberd which Utre took with him in his expedition. I have been acquainted with Don Joseph Cabarte, who directed for thirty years the missions of Agrico, Guariari, and Ariari, and the Oronoke, the countries traversed by Utre, and he appeared fully persuaded that that was the route to Dorado. I knew an Indian belonging to a mission on the Meta, who had been instructed by the said Cabarte, who assured me, that at the age of fifteen he had been taken prisoner, and passed four months in the town of Marira or Luaguas, and that at length he fled with four others. This Indian, although he knew not a word of Spanish, called all the places at which he had stopped on his journey of twenty-three days to the Oronoke, by the names which Utre had given them. He spoke of the riches and inhabitants of the country, in the same terms in which the Cacique of Macatoa had spoken to Utre. He depicted, in detail, the palace of the King, his gardens, his houses, &c."\*

In regard to the name El Dorado, it arose, according to this writer, from a circumstance related by the Indians, sufficiently remarkable to attract great attention;—but not necessarily embracing the ideas afterward connected with it. "In the histories of Terra Firma and New Grenada, it will be seen," he observes, "to have had its origin on the coast of Carthagena and Santa Martha, from which it passed to Bogota. A rumor being spread through those regions, of a wealthy King who lived in a country abounding in gold, and on public occasions appeared with his body sprinkled over with gold dust; the name of El Dorado was given to him, meaning in Spanish the *gilded one*; and which afterward was applied to the whole region, denoting the golden country.

Others are of opinion it had its origin in Quito, and that Belalcazar, who made the first expedition in pursuit of it, gave it to all the kingdom of Bogota; and Pierre de Lempras, having made it known in Venezuela, gave occasion to the expeditions from that country, which were not undertaken for the gilded King, but a territory abounding in gold.†

Humboldt gives the same origin to the term, but with circumstances somewhat different. It being reported that the fertile valley of Lagomozo abounded in gold, and on going there and finding the priest of the Temple, before offering his oblations, anointed at least his hands and face with a certain gum, on which was blown, with a pipe, gold dust found in the sand of the rivers, the name of El Dorado was given to him.‡

\* Gumilla, vol. 1. pp. 137—139.

† Gumilla, vol. 2. pp. 131—138.

‡ Humboldt's Pera. Nar.

That a nation called the Omaguas, or Aguas, existed on the Amazon and north of it, in the direction in which Urra pursued his route, who were very numerous and partly civilized, and who possessed articles of gold, is undoubted. D'Acugna, who made a voyage down the Amazon in 1639, by the direction of the Viceroy of Peru, gives a particular account of this nation. "Three hundred and seventy leagues below the mouth of the Napo, begins the province of the Aguas, whom the Spaniards call Omaguas. It extends about two hundred leagues, and is so well peopled, that the villages are situated very close to one another. The habitations of the people are in all the islands throughout the whole length of it. This nation is the most intelligent and civilized of all those that dwell along this river. They are all clothed, both men and women; their garments made of cotton, of which they gather a prodigious quantity, and they not only make stuffs enough for their use, but a great many to sell to their neighbors, who are much pleased with their beauty. One hundred and thirty leagues from the commencement of the province, that is, about two-thirds of the distance down it, comes in the river Potamayo, which rises in the mountains of Pasto in New Grenada. There is abundance of gold found in the sand and gravel of this river, and we were assured the banks of it were well peopled. The natives that dwell on it are the Yarinás, the Guaraicas, the Purianas, the Tyes, the Abynes, the Cuvás; and those that are nearest to the source, dwell on both sides of the river, as being the lords and masters of it, and are called the Omaguas: the Aguas of the islands call them the true Omaguas." The first expedition made for the discovery of El Dorado, which was by Belalcázar, as will be recollected, was directed to the mountains between Pasto and Popayan, in the very direction where these Omaguas, abounding in gold, are here placed. That they had various gold ornaments, there can be no room to doubt. In the voyage of Orellana, it is related he stopped at a town near the Napo, where the principal men came to him, having gold plates on their breasts, and jewels about them, and informed him of the great wealth there was farther down. D'Acugna speaks also of a place lower down, where these ornaments were seen. The first village which Texeira, in his expedition from the Brazils, met with on this river after he entered it, one hundred and twenty leagues west of Rio Negro, he called the Golden Moon; because he found some pieces of gold there, which these people had received in exchange from those Indians that wear plates of gold at their ears and noses. "Whence," inquires D'Acugna, "had the people of this village these gold ornaments? This I made the discovery of by interpreters I had with me. Fourteen leagues below this town, on the north side, comes in the river Yupura, (called Caqueta at its source,) by sailing on which you meet with the river Yquiari, which is that the Portuguese call the Golden River. It springs from a mountain hard by. Here the natives amass gold together in prodigious quantities. They find it all in spangles or grains of good alloy; they beat these small

grains of gold together, till they form those little plates of gold they hang at their ears and noses. The people that find this gold are Yuma-guaris, for *yuma* signifies metal, and *guaris* those that gather it." There seems to be little doubt, that this name, Yuma-guaris, or Yum-aguaris, is no other than Omaguas. Omaguas, says Southey, is not the original and real name of this nation, but Cambevas.

It appears further, from the following from d'Acugna, that the Omaguas may have obtained some of their gold ornaments from Peru. "Fifty leagues below the mouth of Potamayo, we found on the other side, (the south) the mouth of another fine large river, which takes its rise near Cuzco, and enters into the Amazon. The natives call it Yotan; and it is esteemed, above all the rest, for its riches and the great number of people it contains, the names of whom are the Tipanas, the Gavianes, the Omanes, the Morras, the Nannos, the Conomamas, Marravas, and the Omaguas, who are the last nation that dwell upon this river toward Peru. This nation is accounted to be very rich in gold, because they wear great plates of gold, hanging at their ears and nostrils."

There being such a people on the Amazon and extending north to the source of the Potamayo in the Andes, as also on the south toward Peru, who were the most intelligent and civilized of all the natives on the Amazon, lived in well-peopled villages, were all clothed in cotton garments, the cloth of which was made by themselves, abounded in gold, and wore gold ornaments;—it is probable they were the nation whom Urta professes to have seen, and of whom he has no doubt drawn an exaggerated account. The images of gold which he relates he observed in the Temple, we are not required, totally, to disbelieve; as they may have been obtained by means of their intercourse with Peru.

With the opinions expressed by the writers whom I have mentioned, as to the existence of gold in this region, Humboldt fully accords. "The rivers that rise on the eastern declivity of the Andes," he observes, "for instance, the Napo, carry along with them a great deal of gold ore, even when their sources are found in trachytic soils. The notions collected by Acienha, Father Fritz, and Condamine, on the stream-works of gold, south and north of the Rio Uyapes, agree with what I learned of the auriferous soil of those countries. However great we may suppose the communications that took place before the arrival of the Europeans, they certainly did not draw their gold from the eastern declivity of the Cordilleras. This declivity is poor in mines anciently worked; it is almost entirely composed of volcanic rocks in the provinces of Popayan, Pasto, and Quito. The gold of Guyana, probably came from the country east of the Andes. Why may there not be an alluvial auriferous soil to the east of the Andes, as there is to the west?"

The expeditions in pursuit of El Dorado, which have been related, it has been seen, were directed toward the country lying between the Amazon and the Rio Negro. Other enterprises in pursuit of it, were made

at an early period, to the region lying east of the Oronoke, sometimes from New Grenada, and at others by ascending this river from its mouth.

"Diego de Ordaz, in 1531, and Alonzo de Herrera, in 1535," observes Humboldt, "directed their journey along the banks of the lower Oronoke, of which he has given the following account :

"Ordaz, named Adelantado of all the country which he should conquer between Brazil and the coast of Venezuela, began his expedition by the mouth of the Amazon. He there saw in the hands of the natives, 'emeralds as big as a man's fist.' They were, no doubt, pieces of those saussurite-jade, or compact felspar, which we brought home from the Oronoke, and which M. de la Condamine found, in abundance, at the mouth of the Rio Topayos. The Indians related to Ordaz, that on going up during a certain number of suns, toward the west, he would find a large rock of green stone ; but before they reached this pretended mountain, a shipwreck put an end to all further discovery. The Spaniards saved themselves in two small vessels. They hastened to get out of the mouth of the Amazon, and the currents led Ordaz to the coast of Paria, where Sedeno had erected a fortress, when he resolved to attempt an expedition up the Oronoke. He ascended it as far as the Meta. The Indian guides he employed, advised him to go up the Meta, where, in advancing toward the west, they expected he would find men clothed, and gold in abundance. Ordaz pursued, in preference, the navigation of the Oronoke ; but the cataracts of Tabaje (perhaps those of Atures,) compelled him to terminate his discoveries.

"Herrera, the treasurer of the expedition of Ordaz, was sent, in 1533, by the Governor, Geronimus de Ortal, to pursue the discovery of the Oronoke and the Meta. He lost nearly thirteen months between Punta Barima (near its mouth) and the confluence of the Caroni, in constructing flat-bottomed boats, and making the preparations indispensable for a long voyage. As the Rio Meta, on account of the proximity of its sources and of its tributary streams to the auriferous Cordilleras of New Grenada, enjoyed great celebrity, Herrera attempted to go up this river. He there found nations more civilized than those of the Oronoke. He was killed in battle by a poisoned arrow ; and, when dying, named Alvarede Ordaz, his lieutenant, who led the remains of the expedition (1535) to the fortress of Paria."\*

Among the adventurers who sought the Golden City in this region, was De Serpa, who, about this time, came from Spain with three hundred soldiers, and landed at Cumana, intending to cross over to the Oronoke ; but before he reached it, he was attacked by the Wikiris (Guykeries) and overthrown, with the greatest loss, eighteen only of his men being saved.

Somewhat later than this, an expedition, on a large scale, was undertaken toward this region, in the same pursuit, by the Marquis Gonzalez de Quesada, Viceroy of New Grenada. He departed with two hundred

\* Humboldt's *Pern. Nat.*, chap. xxiv.



men. But, after a journey attended with infinite trouble, he came to Timina in 1543, having lost almost all his men. So fully persuaded, however, was he of the existence of this golden country, that on giving his daughter in marriage to Antonio de Berreo, afterward Governor of the Island of Trinidad, he required his promise, under oath, to undertake the discovery of it.

Berreó, in fulfillment of the promise he had made, and probably himself entertaining the firmest belief, not only of the reality of such a golden country, but that it existed in the direction in which Quesada sought for it, viz: east of the Oronoke, in the interior of Guyana; set on foot an expedition to discover it, on a still more extensive scale than his father-in-law. He commenced his journey at the head of a troop of seven hundred cavalry, and descended the Cassanar, a tributary of the Meta, down which he proceeded into the Oronoke; but, after a twelvemonth's journey, losing daily some of his men, he could obtain no information of Guyana until he came to the province of Amopaia, on the last river, "where it was well known and celebrated, which province itself was rich in gold." The inhabitants at first refused to have any intercourse with him, and he had many engagements with them; but at the end of three months they made peace with him, and presented him with ten images of fine gold, and various plates and crescents. From this place, as soon as spring opened, he endeavored to enter into Guyana, southward from the Oronoke; but the rocky and mountainous character of the country, and the thick impervious woods with which it was covered, rendered it impracticable; and he apprehended opposition from the natives, who had been apprised of his intention. He then descended the Oronoke to its mouth, and there stopped at a province on the south side, which was called Emeria, whose Cacique was Carapana, where he met with a favorable reception; and finding it abounding in provisions, he remained there six weeks, and from the Cacique "learned the proper way to enter into Guyana, and of its riches and magnificence." Although he failed in accomplishing his object, the information which he obtained from this chief and that of Amopaia concerning this region, with the accounts he received after his arrival at Trinidad, from others respecting it, led him still to entertain the idea of exploring and conquering it; and for that purpose, he sent to Spain and obtained from the King a patent for its discovery; and in pursuance of his grant commenced measures to acquire possession of this country, which brought upon him the enmity of the Charibees, on the Oronoke, and laid the foundation of their subsequent persevering hostility to the Spaniards.\*

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh.

## CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNT OF SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS MADE BY RALEIGH TO GUYANA—NOTICE OF HIS NARRATIVE GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF EL DORADO IN THE INTERIOR OF IT, SITUATED UPON A GREAT LAKE—OPINIONS OF GEOGRAPHERS AS TO THE EXISTENCE AND SITUATION OF SUCH A LAKE.

BUT it was the celebrated expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guyana, which fixed in general opinion the supposed Golden City, or El Dorado, in this region. The causes which led to it have been related. It has been seen, that he was engaged, from an early period of his life, in voyages of discovery to foreign parts, and for several years in attempts to colonize Virginia; and although his favorite pursuit, had been for some time interrupted by his employment in public affairs, as soon as the dissatisfaction of the Queen with him, and his exile from court, led him to seek the retirement of a country residence, his attention was again turned to it; and the discovery of the Golden City, or El Dorado—believed by him to be situated in Guyana—and the conquest of that country, occupied his mind; but which appear to have been some time before in his contemplation, and required only the circumstances in which he was now placed, to give them life and activity to exert a controlling influence over his thoughts.

"Many years before," he observes in the preface to his narrative, "I had knowledge by relation of that mighty, rich and beautiful Empire of Guyana, and of that great and golden city, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals, Manoa, &c."\*

From the time he first entertained this notion, he made it his business to collect whatever information might be obtained relative to this country, and the means of entering it. He then drew up instructions for an old experienced naval officer, whom he sent to take a view of the coast; and who returned with a favorable report of the riches of the country, and the possibility of discovering and subduing it. Being thus provided with information respecting it, and encouraged by the hostility of the Charibees on the Oronoke to the Spaniards, he prepared an expedition to it in 1595, consisting of several vessels, and which he accompanied himself. It sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of February in that year, and arrived at Trinidad the twenty-second of March, where he remained several weeks: and "assembling all the Captains in the island, who were enemies to Berreo, (there being some there of other countries, who had been taken prisoners by them,) by an interpreter he informed them, that he was the *servant of a powerful Queen of the North, who was an enemy to the*

\* 2nd Cayley, vol. 1., p. 159.

Spaniards in consequence of their tyranny, and liberated those nations that were oppressed by them ; and that she had sent him to free the Charibees also from them, and to defend Guyana from their invasion and conquest." In the course of his address, "he showed them her portrait, which they much admired ;" and he so won their good-will, that they called the Queen, Ezrabeta Cassipuna Acquerawona, in the Charibee language—which is, Elizabeth the Great Princess." His object in remaining there, was partly to be revenged of Berreo for having enticed away four of his men, and also to collect information concerning Guyana and the City of El Dorado. For the former object he made an attack on the fort of St. Joseph, and after putting the garrison to the sword, took him prisoner ; and while he had him in his power, obtained from him, as far as he could, the intelligence he desired ;—and among other accounts which he received from him, was a relation which Berreo stated a certain Spaniard, Juan Martinez, had made to him, who professed to have travelled to the Golden City. Raleigh, on this information and that he had received from other Spaniards, resolved to attempt the discovery of Guyana. Finding it not practicable to enter the Oronoke through any of its branches with his ships, he left them at Trinidad, and proceeded up the river with four boats and one hundred men ; and taking an Indian pilot, ascended it three hundred miles, to the residence of a Charibee chief, by name Topiawari, by whom he was very hospitably received. The Charibees were then, and still continue, the principal nation on the lower Oronoke. They are also spread over nearly the whole of British and French Guyana ; and wherever they are found, hold a predominant sway—having subdued most of the surrounding tribes, and exterminated a number. They are the same nation who, at the period of their discovery by Columbus, occupied that portion of the West Indian Isles called the Antilles, or Windward Islands.

Raleigh made inquiries of this chief respecting Guyana, to which he gave replies, which were well calculated to encourage him in prosecuting the enterprise. He then proceeded up the river one hundred miles farther, to the Caroli, which falls into it from the south ;—where, he relates, he discovered a mine of gold, and great appearance of the ore in the rocks generally. On his return, he stopped again at the residence of this chief, with whom he further conferred respecting Guyana and the means of entering it. He concluded, however, to defer an attempt to invade and conquer it, to a future period ; for which he assigns several reasons. Having thus made an alliance with him, and promised to return the next year, taking his son with him as a pledge of his friendship, he returned to Trinidad, and from thence proceeded back to England.\* The information which he states he collected in this expedition, on the Oronoke, confirmed the previous accounts he had received in Trinidad, of the existence of a rich and splendid city in Guyana, called Manoa ;—and by the Spaniards, El Dorado ;—and to which the circumstance was now added, that it was situated upon a great lake.

\* Cayley, vol. 2. ch. 17.

On his return to England, he published an account of his voyage, and the particulars he had learned of the country he had visited, giving the greatest assurance, that in the expectations he had formed of its riches, he had not been disappointed. But from the dedication it appears, it was not received, at first, in England, in the manner the most satisfactory to him. It is probable, that his absence from his country was too short to extinguish the jealousy of his rivals in power. What his personal reception was with the Queen, has not been related; but it is clear he was not admitted to her court, in the first instance, at least.\*

Raleigh, agreeably to his promise to the Charibee chief, by the aid of his friends fitted out, the next year, a second expedition to Guyana, consisting of two vessels, the command of which was given to Mr. Lawrence Keymis; but which he was prevented attending in person, England being at that time at war with Spain, and a powerful fleet, with a large land force to accompany it, being prepared to attack Cadiz. And while Essex was appointed Commander-in-chief of the army, Lord Effingham had the direction of the fleet, which was divided into four squadrons, one of which was assigned to Raleigh;—a circumstance which shows that, although he was not reinstated in the favor of the Queen, he still maintained a high reputation in England, and that his abilities were availed of, when the wants of his country require them.†

Keymis left England on the twenty-sixth of January, 1596, and arrived on the coast of Cayenne, in latitude 1° 46' north, and sailed along it, stopping at several places, till he came to the Oronoke, which he ascended to the residence of the Charibee chief. But, on his arrival there, he learned he was dead. His country, too, had been deserted by its inhabitants, and no one was found there; all the Indians on that side of the river having fled and dispersed themselves, probably in consequence of the Spaniards—with whom they were at enmity, and against whom Raleigh offered to protect them—having arrived since he left, and made a settlement there of some twenty houses, and erected a fort on an island opposite the Caroli. Keymis, therefore, made no attempt to prosecute discoveries in the country, and returned to England. After his return, he published an account of his voyage; and not the least discouraged in the pursuit of the enterprise in which he had taken a part, by the disappointment he had met with, he says in it—"Myself and the remains of my few years have been bequeathed wholly to Raleana, (which name he gives Guyana in compliment to Raleigh,) and all my thoughts live only in that action." This determination was most thoroughly carried into execution;—having lost his life in an enterprise undertaken a number of years after, for this object, in which he was a principal actor.‡

No sooner was Raleigh discharged from the public service, by the return of the English fleet from the expedition against Cadiz, than he made preparations for renewing the prosecution of this enterprise; and the next

\* *Cayley*, vol. 1. p. 283.

† *Cayley*, vol. 1. pp. 284-285.

‡ *Cayley's Life of Raleigh*, vol. 2. Appendix, No. X.

year after the voyage of Keymis, fitted out a stout pinnace, the command of which was given to Captain Leonard Berrie,\* who left England on the fourteenth of October, 1596, and on the twenty-seventh of February, 1597, made the coast of Cayenne. He sailed along the coast of Guyana, stopping at different places, until he came to the river Corentine. While in this river, information was given him that three hundred Spaniards were on the Essequibo; on which he was induced to leave it, and abandon the enterprise he had undertaken; and steering for the West Indies, returned to England. He was accompanied by Mr. Thomas Masham, who wrote an account of the voyage.†

The relation which Sir Walter Raleigh gives of the existence of the so long rumored City of El Dorado, in the interior of Guyana, revived again the subject, which was beginning to lose its interest, even in the minds of the Spaniards, after their many unavailing efforts to discover it; for it was now placed in a region to which their enterprises in search of it had never penetrated. To the English, the Dutch, and the French, who were all engaged in forming settlements in the new hemisphere—but whose attention had not, until then, been directed to South America, where the field of discovery and conquest was monopolized by the Spaniards and Portuguese—this splendid and dazzling object was presented, in a great degree, with the charm of novelty.

These relations which I propose to examine, are brief, but explicit.

*"I have been assured,"* says Raleigh, *"by such as have seen MANOA, the imperial city of Guyana which the Spaniards call El Dorado, for the greatness, the richness, and the excellent seat, far excelleth any of the world, at least so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded on a lake of Salt water, two hundred leagues long."*‡

And to account for the wealth and splendor of the city of Manoa, he gives a relation made to him by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, of an invasion of Guyana by "a nation of civil and appparelled people," which Raleigh supposes to be an emigration of one of the Incas of Peru, who established himself in it, and built this city. He also states, that he was informed by an Indian chief on the Caroli, that at the head of it was a great lake, called Cassipa, from which this river takes its rise; and also the Arvi, which falls into the Oronoke farther west, and "that it is so large, that it is above a day's journey for one of their canoes to cross,—which may be some forty miles,—in which fall various rivers; (rather from which they rise,) and that in the summer time, when it discharges itself by those branches, a great quantity of grains of gold are found there."§

The lake termed *Cassipa* by Raleigh, is called by Keymis and Berrie,—who made the two voyages after him to this region,—from accounts they received on the coast of Guyana, *Parima*, which is the appellation that in later times has been given to it.

\* Cayley, vol. 1. p. 308.

† Cayley vol. 1. pp. 179—180.

‡ Cayley, vol. 2. pp. 178—180.

§ Cayley, vol. 1. pp. 233—241.

In the natural order, the first inquiry that arises on these relations is, whether there in reality exists a large lake in the interior of Guyana.

On this subject, geographers did not at first entertain any doubt. The narrative of Raleigh in this respect, whatever might be thought of it in others, was fully believed, and the lake was immediately placed on the maps of Guyana. To that narrative it owes its first appearance there. Various opinions were subsequently entertained respecting its locality, and different positions assigned to it. Afterward, the existence of any such lake was doubted; and it was finally entirely expunged from the maps.

Guyana is that portion of South America which extends along the Atlantic coast, from the Oronoke to the Amazon, and is embraced between these rivers, which are united by the junction of the Cassiquiari, one of the head branches of the former, with the Rio Negro, which falls into the Amazon, constituting it an island. Through this region passes the second great chain of mountains that crosses South America, called the Cordillera of Parima. From the centre of it various rivers flow in different directions; some northwardly into the Oronoke, others southwardly into the Rio Branco, which falls into the Rio Negro, a branch of the Amazon, and others eastwardly into the Atlantic Ocean, which have given their names to the European colonies established on it, viz: Essequibo, Demerara, Berbice, Surinam, and Cayenne; the three first of which belong to Great Britain, Surinam to Holland, and Cayenne to France. Of these rivers, the Essequibo is the most considerable, and the first south of the Oronoke, from which it is distant about one hundred miles. Its mouth forms a spacious bay, from fifteen to twenty miles wide, and from thirty miles upward is filled with low and beautiful islands. It is free from obstructions about eighty miles, when commences a series of falls. Three hundred miles from its mouth, it receives the Rippununi, which flows from the Cordillera of Parima, the main stream rising also from the same chain which runs along the rear of the colonies. Of this river, very worthy mention is made by Lawrence Keymis, who commanded Raleigh's second expedition. In sailing from Cayenne to the Oronoke, he took notice of it, and thus describes it. The Indians, to show the worthiness of D'Essekebe, for it is very large, and full of islands at its mouth, call it the *Brother of the Oronoke*.\* It is called D'Essekebe, being first discovered by the Portuguese, who named it Rio D'Essekebe.

The coast of Guyana, from the Oronoke to Cayenne, is low and level, and of alluvial formation. In sailing toward it, on approaching the land, no hills or prominences of any kind are seen, but a uniform flat surface as far as the eye extends, in every direction except at Cayenne, where several detached pyramidal hills strike the coast. This alluvial formation is continually increasing, by the sediment deposited upon it by the various rivers which descend from the interior, and by the flood that rushes with

\* Cayley's Life of Ral. vol. 2. p 285.

violence from the Amazon in a northwesterly direction along it, and forcing its way through the Boca del Chica, or Dragon's Mouth, between Paria and Trinidad, into the Gulf of Mexico, there takes the name of the Gulf Stream. On advancing into the interior of Guyana, beyond the alluvial formation rising gradually upon the mountainous region, a diversified country appears. Scattered hills of various elevations, some covered with forests, others naked at the summit, fill the prospect. The dense forests are also occasionally broken by open savannas.\*

The locality which has been generally given to this lake, is in the second of the three great chains of mountains which cross South America, thus described by Humboldt:

"The first, called the Cordillera of the coast, of which the highest summit is the Cilla of Caraccas, and which is linked to the Andes of New Grenada, stretches in the tenth degree of North latitude from Quimboya and Barquesimento, to the promontory of Paria. The second extends between the parallels of three degrees and seven degrees from the mouths of the Guaviari and Meta to the sources of the Oronoke, thence eastward to the Essequibo in Dutch Guyana, and the Maroni (Marawini) in Cayenne. I call this chain the Cordillera of Parima. It is less a chain than a collection of granitic mountains, separated by small plains, without being everywhere disposed in lines. It is not connected with the Andes of New Grenada, but is separated from them by a space of eighty leagues broad. A third chain, the Cordillera of Chiquito, unites in sixteen degrees and eighteen degrees South latitude, the Andes of Peru to the mountains of Brazil. These three transverse chains are separated by tracts entirely level; the plains of Caraccas, or the lower Oronoke; the plains of the Amazon and the Rio Negro; and the plains of Buenos Ayres, on the La Plata. The two tracts placed at the extremities of South America, are savannas or steppes; pasturage without trees. The intermediate basin, which receives the equinoctial rains during the whole year, is almost entirely one vast forest, in which no other road is known than the rivers. That strength of vegetation which conceals the soil, renders also the uniformity of its surface less perceptible, and the plains of Caraccas and La Plata alone bear this name."†

Having given this account of some of the geographical features of this region, I will now relate, from the same author, in what manner the lake Parima was first introduced into the maps, and the mutations of opinions which occurred among geographers as to the existence of it, its character and position, during the space of three centuries.

"Hondius, a geographer of Holland, was the first to insert it in his map of Guyana, published in 1599, four years after the voyage of Raleigh, and founded entirely upon his narrative. It was entitled, 'Nieuw Carté von bet wonderbare landt Guyana, besocht d von Sir Walter Raleigh, 1594—1596;' (New Map of the wonderful land Guyana, discovered by Sir W. R., 1594—1596.) Like Raleigh, he makes the rivers Caroni

\* Waterton's Travels in South America.

† Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.* ch. xvii.

and Arvi, branches of the Oronoke, to issue from lake Cassipa, in the heart of Guyana. In posterior maps, as that of Sansom in 1656 and 1669, the river Caura, another tributary, is made to issue from it. Hondius, and other geographers, assigned gradually a more southern latitude to it, and it was detached from the Caroni and Arvi, and took the name of lake Parima. Sansom in 1680, De Lisle in 1700, and D'Anville, in the first edition of his map, (*L'Amerique Meridionale*), effaced the lake Parima, but still religiously kept to the lake Cassipa. D'Anville, in the second edition of his map, in 1760, placed on it both the lake Cassipa and the lake Parima. La Cruz, who made his great map of South America in 1775, preserved this lake, but has given it the oblong form of lake Cassipa; while of the ancient lake Parima, the axis was from east to west. His map has been followed by all subsequent geographers. He was too well informed by the accounts of the missionaries, respecting the sources of the Caura, not to omit the Cassipa.

Four years after the map of La Cruz, was published that of Caulin; who attended the expedition under the command of Jose Antonio Solano, for the regulation of boundaries, but who never proceeded farther than San Fernando de Atabapo, on the Oronoke, one hundred and sixty leagues from this pretended lake Parima, which was founded entirely on the testimony Solano collected from the Indians. This journal is in perpetual contradiction to the map prefixed to it. The author develops the circumstances that gave rise to the fable of lake Parima; but the map restores the lake, placing it, however, far from the sources of the Oronoke, to the east of the Rio Branco. Two maps traced by him in 1756, were reduced in 1778 into one, and completed, according to pretended discoveries by Sarville; who makes the lake Amucu,—which is the source of the Maho, one of the tributaries of the Branco, and rises near the Essequibo,—to be the lake Parima.”\*

Humboldt, having recited the different opinions which have been entertained regarding the existence and situation of this lake, presents his own views on the subject, formed upon a minute and careful investigation:

“In the latitude of four degrees, or four and a half, is a long and narrow Cordillera, viz: that of Pacaraimo, Quimiropaca, and Ucucuamo; which, stretching from east to southwest, unites the group of the mountains of Parima to the mountains of French and Dutch Guyana. It divides its waters between the Carony, the Rippununi, and the Rio Branco. On the northwest of the Cordillera of Pacaraimo descend the Nocopro, the Paraguamusi and the Paragua, which fall into the Carony. On the northeast, the Rippununi, a tributary stream of the Essequibo. Toward the south the Tacutu and the Urariquera, form, together, the famous Rio Parima, or Rio Branco,” (and at their junction is the Portuguese fort St. Joachim. The Urariquera, or western branch, is formed of the *Urari-para* and the *Parima*, which name is also applied to the whole stream,

\* Humboldt's *Pers. Nat.*, ch. xvii and xxiv.



after the junction of the two branches, or the Branco. The Tacutu, which flows from the east, receives from the north, the Maho; which is joined by a small stream, the Pirara, before it enters the Tacutu. All these tributaries of the two branches flow from this mountainous chain.)

"The rivers at the foot of the mountains of Pacaraimo, are subject to frequent overflowings. Above Santa Rosa, the right bank of the Uraripara, a tributary stream of the Urariquera, or western branch of the Rio Branco, is called *el Valle de la Inundacion*. Great pools also are found between the Rio Parima and the Xurumu. . . . More to the west, the Canno Pirara, a tributary stream of the Mahu, issues from a lake covered with rushes. This is the lake Amucu, described by Nicholas Hortsman, and respecting which, some Portuguese of Barcelos, who had visited the Rio Branco, gave me precise notions during my stay at San Carlos del Rio Negro. The lake Amucu is several leagues broad, and contains two small islands. The Rippununi approaches very near this lake; but does not communicate with it. The portage between the Rippununi and the Maho is farther north, where the mountain of Ucuciamo rises, which the natives still call the mountain of gold. They advised Hortsman to seek around the Rio Mahu for a mine of silver, (no doubt mica with large plates,) of diamonds, and of emeralds. He found nothing but rock crystals. . . . The White Sea is nothing but the Rio Parima, which is still called the white river—Rio Blanco, or Rio des Aguas Blancas—and runs through and inundates the whole of this land. The name of Rippununi is given to the White Sea on the most ancient maps; which identifies the place of the fable—since, of all the tributary streams of the Rio Essequibo, the Rippununi is nearest to the lake Amucu.

"In support of what I here advance, I shall appeal to a very respectable testimony, that of Father Caulin: 'When I inquired of the Indians, (says the missionary, who sojourned longer than I, on the banks of the lower Oronoke;) what Parima was; they answered, that it was nothing more than a river that issued from a chain of mountains, the opposite sides of which furnished waters to the Essequibo.'" Caulin, knowing nothing of lake Amucu, attributes the erroneous notion of an inland sea to the inundations of the plains. "I have no doubt," he says, "that one of the upper branches of the Rio Branco, is that very Rio Parima which the Spaniards have taken for a lake. . . . From the whole of these statements, it follows: 1. That the laguna Rippununi, or Parima of Raleigh, is an imaginary lake formed by the lake Amucu, and the tributary streams of the Urariquera, (the western branch of the Branco,) which often overflow their banks. 2. That the laguna Parima of Surville's map, is the lake Amucu which gives rise to the Rio Pirara, and conjointly with the Mahu, Tacutu, the Urariquera, Rio Parima, properly so called, form the Rio Branco."

There is, perhaps, no region in South America so little known as this, which Humboldt has described as the locality of the lake. It has never yet been passed over by any of the civilized race, who has given an ac-

count of it; and all the information known of it in Europe, is conjectural, founded on intelligence obtained by three or four travellers, respecting the countries bordering on it, on the east and west. A journey has never yet been made, so far as is known, by any other than the wild inhabitants of that region, either westward from the sources of the Essequibo to the Oronoke, or eastward from the Oronoke to this river. A veil of obscurity has hung over its thick forests and lofty mountains, from which, ever since the close of the sixteenth century, wonderful tales have issued and been spread by the Indians, to amuse the credulity of Europeans.

The only instances in which even its confines have been visited by travellers, are, remarks Humboldt, the following: 1. In 1735, Nicholas Hortsman, who came from the Essequibo, passed up the Rippununi, and then by a short portage to the Pirara, a tributary of the Tacutu, by which he descended to the Branco, and proceeded to the Brazils. 2. Don Antonio Santos, in pursuit of El Dorado in 1775, ascended the Caroni, and then one of its branches, the Paragua, and crossing over the Cordillera came to the Uraripara, which falls into the western branch of the Branco, each passing over the extremes to the east and west of this region. 3. In 1793, Colonel Barata, of the first regiment of the line, of Para, went twice from the Amazon to Surinam, on affairs of his government, by the same portage of Rippununi, which Hortsman went over. 4. Still more recently, in the month of February, 1811, some English and Dutch colonists arrived at the portage of Rippununi, to solicit from the commander of the Rio Negro, permission to proceed to the Rio Branco; and the commandant having granted their request, these colonists arrived at St. Joachim, in their boats."

Humboldt himself, did not proceed up the Oronoke, but a short distance beyond Esmeralda, the last Christian post on it, which is some degrees west of the locality generally given to this lake. The information which he obtained of this region, on which he founds the views he has presented of it, was derived from the new maps in the hydrographical depot of Brazil, in which are very minutely laid down, the various streams that descend southwardly from the Cordillera of Parima; from some communications made to him respecting them, by Portuguese, whom he saw at San Carlos, on the Rio Negro, and from the journals of Hortsman and Santos, of both of which he had a perusal.

Respecting a region so little known, and so interesting, as the space between the sources of the Oronoke and Essequibo, in which the lake Parima has been generally placed, any additional information cannot but be desirable. That which Humboldt obtained was received in Spanish and Portuguese territories, on the west of this district. It must be obvious, however, from a sight of the map, that the borders of the Essequibo on the opposite side—the name of one of whose branches, the Rippununi, has been sometimes given to the lake—furnishes the most favorable channel to obtain intelligence respecting it. It was on the coast of Guyana that the name, Parima, was first heard applied to it. Raleigh, himself, had

only a general idea of the situation of the lake Cassipa, but Keymis and Berrie, who commanded the two succeeding expeditions, sent out by him to these regions, heard of a lake in the interior of Guyana called Parima, and of its precise locality. On the Essequibo river, he was informed, "that it lieth southerly into the land, and from the mouth they pass into the head in twenty days; when, taking their provision, they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey. Afterward, they return for their canoes, and bear them to the side of a lake, which the Jaos call Roponowini, the Charibees Parima; which is of such bigness, that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There are infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and I suppose it is no other than that on which Manoa standeth." \*

On the Corentine river, Berrie was informed by an Indian, who came from the Essequibo, "that the Essequibo leads so far into the country, as to be within a day's journey of the lake Parima, and that the Corentine doth meet it up in this land;" in consequence of which information, "he intended to have discovered a passage into that rich city." † He actually proceeded some distance up this river in his boats; but when he had passed the first falls he heard accounts of the ferocious character of the Ackoways, and that five days farther there was another fall, which was not passable. He was also told, that by ascending the river farther "he would make those Indians his enemies," which he believed would be to the disadvantage of Raleigh, when he came himself; as he was informed there was on this river great store of gold. He therefore returned with his boats to the ship, and left the river.

Having, as I have observed in the Introduction, visited, some years since, British Guyana, through which the Essequibo river flows, several of whose branches rise in the locality generally given to the lake Parima; I was very desirous of obtaining some information respecting it, and the state of the population about it, in a region so favorable for the purpose, and will relate the facts I was able to collect on the subject.

A work by a historian of Holland, Hartsinck, entitled '*Beschryving van Guyana*,' (Description of Guyana,) published in 1770, affording some information on the subject, came to my knowledge, from which I make the following extract: "The Essequibo river sixty miles from its mouth, receives the Mazerouni. The Cayouni unites with the Mazerouni four or five miles before the river falls into the Essequibo. The first port on the Essequibo, called Arinda, is on an island at the commencement of the falls. After passing them, on the west side, comes the river Arassarou, and farther up on the same side, the Siperouni. About eight miles higher, the Essequibo receives the Rippununi. The number of falls, as far as this river, is thirty-nine. The Rippununi is seventy miles in length; flowing first for half the distance from the south, and in the other half pursuing a course of east-northeast. West of the point where it makes this turn, is a small river which flows from a lake, nearly half an hour's

\* Cayley, vol. 2. p. 328.

† Cayley, vol. 2. p. 371.

distance, about four miles long and two broad. Two miles west of this lake is a larger one, called the lake Amucu, nine or ten miles long and five or six broad, overgrown with reeds, and having some islands in it. From this lake, on the south side, flows the river Pirara, which unites with the Maho, both which then join the Tacutu, which falls into the Rio Branco, called by the Portuguese Rio Blanco, or the White river, and then into the Rio Negro, or the Black river, so that a passage may be made from our settlements by these rivers, through the country to the river Amazon. Lake Parima, which by many travellers is thought to be even the Golden Dorado, which is to be found only in the imagination of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Spaniards, according to accounts of the Spanish court transmitted to M. D'Anville, and *some information from our settlements*, is established certainly to be between the Mazerouni and Cayouni, west of lake Amucu and east of the Oronoke; and is said to be a very great and deep lake. I will not dilate on its shape and situation, and the relations made in former times of the inhabitants on its borders, their riches, &c. Yet we can assure the reader, that none of the European settlements are better adapted for the discovery of the interior of Guyana, between the Rio Negro and the Atlantic Ocean, than those of Essequibo; considering the course of this river, the friendship of the Indians, and their ancient and implacable enmity to the Spaniards. The Mazerouni runs north-eastwardly, in a right line out of lake Parima. The Cayouni receives the river Menou, on which the Spaniards had a mission; farther up it receives the Iruari, which flows from the southwest, also, out of this lake."

In the above extract, it will be seen that the existence of lake Parima is positively stated by this writer; and the locality which he gives to it agrees with that assigned to it by D'Anville, who, according to Humboldt, makes it communicate with the Essequibo, by the Mazerouni and Cayouni.

The following information I received on this subject from a very authentic source, and which places the lake in the same locality.

A gentleman who administered the government of the colony of Demerara, from the year 1765, to 1771, and afterward removed to the United States, in answer to some inquiries I made of him on the subject, gave me the following information: That his public functions leading him frequently to the Essequibo river, to attend at the seat of government of the colony of that name, to which that of Demerara was subordinate, lake Parima became a subject of attention to him, from the relations of the Indians; and his curiosity being excited respecting it, he directed the commander of one of the military posts to proceed up the river to its source, and inquire into it;—who, on his return gave the following statement, founded in his own personal observation, that what was called lake Parima, was an inundation of a tract of land at the head of that river, during the rainy season; from the vast quantity of water, that falls in that region, not being able *immediately to discharge* itself into the several streams that flow out of it; *but which happens* in the dry season, when the tract becomes perfectly

bare, except that there remains a small pond; and that the neighboring Indians daily come to the spot, before sunrise, to gather a substance which they called salt;—a quantity of which was brought and delivered to him by the officer, which, on examination, he found to be saltpetre.

Accounts which I received from several other sources in that country, further elucidate this subject. I had the perusal of a journal, made by one of a commission sent by the government of Demerara, in 1810, to the Charibee chief, or Cacique, at the sources of the Essequibo river, who styles himself king of all the Indians in British Guyana. This commission originated in the following circumstance:—During that year, he descended this river, and made a visit to the government of Demerara, at Georgetown, to open the way for an amicable treaty with it; and to promote it, made strong representations of the extent and power of his nation, and the number of men whom he could bring into the field. Of the correctness of his statement, the Governor and court of policy were unable to form any opinion; for, the remote country where he resided, was entirely unknown; not only never having been described by any traveller, but had been very rarely visited by any colonist, from the impediments existing to ascending the Essequibo, by the great number of falls in it, and the dread of the native tribes at its sources, including the Charibees—generally considered to be of a very ferocious character. The Government was, therefore, induced to appoint a commission to visit him. The individuals composing it, are the English and Dutch colonists, mentioned by Humboldt, as the fourth instance in which this region has been visited by travellers of European origin. They were the following persons:—Dr. Hancock, a medical gentleman, a native of the United States then resident in Demerara, who had devoted much attention to the natural history of Guyana, and was placed at the head of this commission. Captain S——, of the burgher militia, and the third, a gentleman long resident in that colony, and well-acquainted with it. Dr. Hancock removed some years after to London, and published a work on his favorite subject; and, in 1834, a pamphlet entitled “Observations on Guyana,” in which he proposes a plan for colonizing the interior of it, and refers to this expedition. I have been in expectation of seeing a more extended work from his pen, on that country—having travelled extensively about it—but saw his death some time since announced. Captain S. kept a journal, which is a plain narrative of events, and is the one I have mentioned.

From this journal I extract the following remarks, from which it appears that the region at the head of the Essequibo, from which the Rippununi and Siperouni flow easterly into it, and the Pirara and Maho southwardly, into the Tacutu, is a high table-land, on which the mountains that form part of the Cordillera of Parima, which passes through it, are arranged in separate groups, between which there are extensive savannas, sometimes inundated;—which is agreeable to the account Humboldt gives of the Cordillera of Parima, “that it is less a chain, than a collection of granitic mountains, separated by small plains, and without being

everywhere disposed in lines:" and that there is a short portage from the Rippununi to the Pirara, which the commissioners verified by passing through this channel of communication to the Portuguese fort St. Joachim, on the Rio Branco—a fact also stated by Humboldt. This extract also contains some particulars relative to the state of the population in this region.

The commissioners left the post on the Mazerouni, and ascended the Essequibo, December sixth, 1810. On the twenty-fourth they passed the twenty-eighth fall, a little below the Siperouni, and came to the mouth of the Rippununi on the first January. On the fourth January, they proceeded up this tributary as far as the Anayoca creek, which comes into it—and rises out of a range of mountains. They landed there, and walked through the forest a quarter of a mile, where a savanna opened before them; and beyond it, as far the eye could reach, a chain of mountains appeared, extending from north to south, to which they walked two hours and a half. From these mountains the Siperouni, which has many and heavy falls in it, takes its rise. They found a settlement of Macoussies, between the mountains, of ten large houses, and about one hundred Indians. On the eighth January they came to another settlement, and in two hours after, to a very high, brown mountain—the rocks on it, scattered in a terrible manner, as if the country had been lately destroyed by fire: passed, then, over mountains resembling marble. On the ninth, they came to the mountains Massara, a long range, along which they proceeded in a southerly direction, and arrived at mount Itaka, the last of the chain—half-way up which was a settlement of Macoussies, of about twelve houses; one of which the journalist measured, which was forty-two feet square, and thirty-six feet high, in which were forty hammocks. On the tenth, they went back on an easterly course to the Rippununi, having before them a range of very high mountains, called Conoko—signifying islands—which were of an immense length, stretching northeast and southwest. Southeast were the mountains Pitjabo, which separate the Portuguese jurisdiction; and at mount Maho, one of the chain, is a creek, or river, (which, in a sketch annexed to the journal, is called the Maho). They passed an Ieta-bush, about one hundred rods in length, where the Portuguese once came when the savanna was under water, and drew their canoes to the Rippununi; and went through valleys abounding with groves of the same trees, and found marks where they had commenced digging a passage for their canoes; but they appear to have given up the plan. The ground where they now draw them is plainly to be seen. On the eleventh, the commissioners came to Arriwasikies, a Charibee chief, where they remained some days, and held a conference with the Indians, who came in from different parts. On the thirty-first, proceeded eighteen miles, to a field of four acres, under the mountains Conoko, which the Macoussies had planted for him—for which, he paid with the articles he had received from Government. On the fifth February, they resumed their course up the Rippununi, and ascended it for eight days with diffi-

culty—being obliged to carry their canoe around falls, or drag it over shoals: at length, on the thirteenth, they came to a landing-place, which led to the residence of the Charibee chief, or Cacique; and, on the fifteenth, they proceeded to it, and after passing over mountains, came to a cabin of Wapisanas, having a single family, who welcomed them most cordially—and then to a hill on which were four houses of Atorays, circular, and about twenty feet diameter, and was received by a fine young Atoray, Narressibi, who invited them to his settlement, which was a quarter of a mile distant; to which they went, and found five houses, and about thirty Indians, besides a large cabin thirty or more feet in length, nearly as wide, semi-circular, and open at both ends. In the morning, on the seventeenth, they proceeded, attended by about twenty Indians, to the residence of the Charibee chief. It was on the top of a hill; and as soon as they appeared on one opposite, they were saluted by music from it—beating of drums, and playing of flutes and pipes. They were conducted by the Indian with whom they last staid, to an open cabin, where the Cacique, Mahanerwa, received them, sitting on a hamack. They were next welcomed by his wife, son, and son-in-law, in a most friendly manner. “He then offered me,” says the journalist, “a seat next to him, and more than twelve women presented him with drink; of each of which he drank, which pleased them.” He mentions the following ceremony, performed on his entrance: Each person came before him and welcomed him, by pointing, or bending, the fore-finger of his right hand to his face.

The settlement consisted of about ten houses, well filled with Charibees, Maconssies, and Wapisanas. They were industrious, and the chief was building a new house, forty feet by twenty-five feet, which, he said, was intended for the commissioners. He never works, and what was very remarkable, every person dressed himself off to the best advantage but himself. The whole evening and night were spent with music, dancing, and singing.

After completing the purpose of their visit to the Cacique, the commissioners proceeded to Moracca, a landing on the Rippununi, from which they set off for the river Pirara, at the foot of mount Maho; and going over hills and valleys, and crossing the Pirara in five places on horse-back, they arrived at their destination at noon, where they found two canoes. The next day at 1 P. M. they descended this stream, and passed, on the right, the river Maho—at 5 P. M. they passed the Tacutu, on the left, and landed at 6 P. M. for the night. The next day, they went down the Tacutu and stopped again at night. On the eleventh March, at 1 A. M., they went on, and at 1 P. M. arrived at fort St. Joachim, situated at the junction of the Tacutu with the Branco.

On their return, they went up these streams to the landing-place of the Pirara creek. On the thirtieth March, at 9 A. M., they set out on foot for Moracca, on the Rippununi, and reached it at 8 P. M., after a walk of eighteen to twenty miles, which is the portage that separates the waters

which flow northeasterly into the Essequibo, from those which descend southerly into the Branco. On Monday, seventeenth April, they proceeded, at 3 P. M., by moonlight, and at half-past four, passed Maowriekero creek, which flows from the north—half-past twelve, crossed Wirrewiryo creek, which comes in from southwest; at 3 P. M. reached Riva creek, (or river,) which comes in from S. southwest, a large creek. About seventy miles up, it has another creek, called Koitaroo, on its right side. Going up the creek about one and a half days, there is a landing, to walk in one and a half days to Mahanerwa's, and the nearest way that leads to him, passes betwixt mountains.

In this journal, no mention is made of the Xurumu, which Humboldt, from information received from the Portuguese, says, is a tributary of the Tacutu. And the journalist would not have omitted to speak of it, if he had seen it in his passage to fort St. Joachim, for he mentions passing the Maho at its junction with the Pirara. May not this be the Parima, which might be changed into Parumu or Xurumu?

In another respect this journal differs from the maps. It mentions the Riva as a branch of the Rippununi on the east, and that the Koitaro (the Kardaru of the Portuguese,) is a tributary of the Riva. In the maps, the Riva is not mentioned, and the Koitaro is made a tributary of the Rippununi.

The savanna, over which the commissioners crossed, when they went from the Rippununi to the Maconssie mountains, the lower part of which, the journalist observes, is sometimes under water, and that the Pirara and Maho rise out of mount Maho, at the south of it, must be the basin of the lake Amucu, as Hartsinck makes the Pirara flow from it, and is agreeable to what Humboldt states of the source of this stream.

It is also fully established by Dr. Hancock, who was at the head of this commission, in the following remarks, which I extract from his "Observations on Guyana," which contains other geographical information in regard to this region:

"On proceeding up the Essequibo, we met with three great chains of cataracts, or rapids; the first chain commencing at Aretaka, sixty miles from the mouth. The bed of the river in the dry season, discovers vast quantities of vitrified, stony, and mineral substances, and appears to have been the seat of volcanic fires at remote periods of time. These volcanic products are chiefly met with among the falls incumbent on beds of granite, where the soil and lighter materials have been washed away. The principal component parts of the interior mountains are granite, and its various modifications, which show them to be of primitive formation; while the extensive ranges toward the coast are of less elevation, and are chiefly composed of indurated clays with sand and gravel, and may hence be regarded as belonging to the secondary order.

"The soil of the interior and mountainous parts of Guyana consists of a strong and fertile loam, being a due admixture of clay, sand, and vegetable mould, with little calcareous earth. It contains much feruginous



matter, which gives it a yellow or reddish tinge, and contrary to what has been asserted of countries within the torrid zone, there are evidently vast quantities of iron ore among the mountains of Guyana."

The following will serve to give some idea of the lands farther to the westward, in the region of the Maconssie mountains, on the west side of the Rippununi :

"Passed over a *barren salt savanna*, to the mountains; ascended a peak, which is nearly isolated, of the range of Parima. It was very steep and rugged, and difficult to climb. Found here, on the summit, five large houses, and about twenty men, besides women and children, all Macoussies, stout, lusty people. . . . The top of the mountain appears sterile, covered with large rocks. Cassada, corn, yams, plantains, &c., are produced on the sides of the mountains; and thrive astonishingly, notwithstanding the sterile appearance of the soil, which is composed chiefly of indurated clay and gravel, without the least appearance of mould or decayed vegetable matter. The mountain is called Etaka, in lat.  $3^{\circ} 58'$ , and in long.  $58\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  west. From this spot, we could see far along the Cordillera of Parima, Mackerapan, as also the groups of Konoko, to the southward, which we afterward ascended; and at the same time, *the two great systems of rivers which drain the northern and southern slopes by the Essequibo and Branco, the source of the Pirara, the Maho, the lake of Amucu, &c., were visible here.*"\*

The mountain Makerapan, which he mentions, is, he says, about four thousand feet above the level of the plain on which it stands, and five thousand feet above the sea—is steep and precipitous on the south, facing the savanna, but may be ascended with ease on the east, from the river side.†

The same character is given of this region by an English traveller, Mr. Charles Waterton, who about the same time, ascended the Essequibo, and passed over to the Portuguese fort; and published a work in London, giving an account of his travels in that, and other parts of South America,‡ from which we extract the following remarks:

A little before he passed the rapids of the Essequibo, two immense rocks appeared, nearly on the summit of one of the many hills which form a wide extended range; one of which, the northern, was bare; the southern, was covered with bushes. The next day, after passing the Siperouni, he came to a little hill, where there was a small settlement of Indians. Two days after, to another on the western bank. The third day after leaving the last, he came to a creek, (or river,) and shortly after to the pass to the open country. Here he drew the canoe into the forest, and went through it, when a savanna unfolded itself to his view;—about two thousand acres of grass, with here and there a clump of trees, and a few bushes and single trees scattered up and down, neither hilly nor level, diversified with moderate rises and falls, and surrounded by lofty hills of

\* Hancock's Observ. p. 52.

† Hancock's Observ. p. 13.

‡ Wanderings in South America.

various forms, covered with trees; some pyramidal, others rounded; one towering above the other, till they could not be distinguished from the clouds. His route (to the Portuguese post) from this place, was south. He entered the forest at the extremity of the savanna, journeying along a winding-path at the foot of a hill. The path, the next day, was not so good. The hills over which it lies, rocky, steep, and rugged; the spaces between which were *swampy, and most of them knee-deep in water*. After eight hours' walk, he came to a small settlement, and in half an hour, to another; and thence, he proceeded in a southwest direction, through a long, swampy savanna, and *walked for half a day in water nearly up to the knees*. This was not the proper place to have come to, to reach the Portuguese frontiers. He advanced too much to the westward; but to this he was compelled, as the ground on the direct course he ought to have taken, southwardly, was overflowed, and he was obliged to wind along the western hills, quite out of the way. He then ascended a steep and high hill, full of immense rocks, and the huts upon it were not all in one place, but dispersed wherever they found a place level enough for a lodgment; and at the base of it stretched an immense plain, which, from the hill, appeared as level as a bowling-green. The mountains on the other side, were piled one upon the other, and gradually retired, till they were undiscernible from the clouds in which they were involved. To the south and southwest, it is lost in the horizon. The trees on it, look like islands, while the course of the rivulets is marked by the Jeta trees on their borders. He was not able to pursue his course to the next Indian habitation, on account of the floods of water which fall at that season of the year; and took a circuit westerly, along the mountain's foot, and came to a large and deep creek, which he was obliged to make a raft to cross. After passing it, he walked, with a brisk pace, nine hours, to a small settlement of four Indian huts; which, he observes, is the place he ought to have come to, two days before, had the water permitted. Although he crossed the plain at the most advantageous place, he was above *ankle-deep in water for three hours*. The remainder of the way was dry ground, gently rising. As the lower parts of this spacious plain put on, somewhat, the appearance of a lake, during the periodical rains; it is not improbable, but that this is the place which has given rise to the supposed existence of the famed lake Parima, or El Dorado.

But this is evidently the lake Amucu; for the writer observes, in three hours from this settlement, is a river called the Pirara; and from it you get into the Maou, and then into the Tacutu—and the Pirara, by various testimonies, has been shown to flow out of this lake.

### CHAPTER III.

INVESTIGATION OF THE CHARACTER OF LAKE PARIMA—WHAT RIVERS FLOW FROM IT—STATE OF THE POPULATION ABOUT IT IN THE TIME OF RALEIGH—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PROBABLY GAVE RISE TO THE IDEA OF A GREAT CITY UPON IT—SOME FACTS REGARDING THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THAT REGION.

To solve the question of this lake Parima, on which there has been so much doubt and diversity of opinion, I felt a great desire, while in the colony through which the Essequibo flows, to ascend it to its source, and examine the region in which it has usually been placed; but the time limited for my stay there, prevented my gratifying it. I was able, only a short time before I left it, to make an excursion up the river as far as the first falls. But during it, an unexpected and interesting circumstance occurred. Having stopped at the Indian post on the Mazerouni, which is a few miles before this river falls into the Essequibo, I learned from the Agent, that the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, had come down on a second visit to the seat of government of Demerara, after a lapse of ten years; but in consequence of an epidemic which at that time raged there with violence, had stopped on the Cayouni, at a place a few miles from the post. On hearing this, I expressed to the Agent my anxious wish to have an interview with him, who promptly offered to gratify me, and sent a message to the Charibee chief, stating the desire of a visitor there, a stranger, to see him, and requesting him to come the post; and the next day, I had the pleasure of seeing a canoe of his come down. He was not in it himself, sending an answer that he was unwell; but it contained his eldest son, a youth of about twenty years, and his son-in-law, Arewya, who was of middle age, and appeared to have the command of it. The sight of these Charibeas, from the remote wilds of Guyana, was very gratifying to me. Arewya had large folds of dark cotton cloth around his body, from the waist to his feet, the end of which was taken up and stuck in it. He wore no other ornaments than gold pendants in his ears, and his breast-plate, in the form of a crescent, suspended from his neck; answering the description of the Caracolli, the peculiar ornament of the Charibee. The son of the chief, and the other youths, exhibited somewhat more of the original customs. They were nearly naked; and not only were their bodies painted, but their heads were profusely covered over with paint of a scarlet brilliancy; their faces marked with black streaks across their cheeks, their eyebrows painted, strings of shells around the neck, and the war-club hanging at their wrists. They leaped on shore together as soon as the boat touched it, with an elastic, buoy-

ant step, and a free, independent air, and stood erect before me. I looked at them with the historical recollections connected with their nation, with a powerful sensation ; and the scene made, has ever since remained fresh in my mind.

They conveyed me to Mahanerwa's temporary cabin on the Cayouni, where, on entering, I saw him lying on a hamack. It was in the centre of it, and around the cabin were some half a dozen females, quietly occupied with some work they had in their hands ; which scene has been since recalled to my mind, by the description given by Labat of the industry and docility of the Charibees in the islands. After being introduced to the chief, I made inquiries of him, among other things, concerning the existence of lake Parima, its character, &c. He answered, that it was four days from his place and dried entirely, so that a person could walk over it, except that there remained a pond in the middle of it, which was full of fish, which he called *cassamaima* : that he had crossed over it, and it takes seven days to cross it : that there was there white and red sand, which he called *mocoureeme* and *eerepeana*. He also said there was rock crystal by mount Maho, which is agreeable to what Humboldt says he was informed by Nicholas Hortsman. Arewya said, Parima is in a savanna called Machewai. The water is of a whitish appearance and is never entirely dry, pronounced *bareema*. A creek, or river, quite black, and another quite red, goes out of it. That it was surrounded with white and red sand ; some of the white sand is shining and of a silvery appearance. High rocks are around it and also small hills, which have the shining appearance of glass, and that it takes four weeks to go round it.

The information given by Mahanerwa is entitled to the highest degree of credit. Dr. Hancock, who had an opportunity of seeing him on this visit which he made to the coast, speaks of him in his pamphlet "Observations on Guyana," in the most favorable terms. Alluding to a fact he had stated, he remarks, "on further reflection indeed I cannot doubt it, and I have found a note I made from the testimony of the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, who came down to the coast in 1819, and after such a lapse of time, he said eight years, he came to repay my visit. A remarkable sensibility and mildness of manners distinguished him from the subordinate chiefs. His father had been the Caqui or Cacique of the Charibees, and Mahanerwa had travelled with him throughout Guyana. No one was so well acquainted with the country and the different tribes of Indians, and in long conversations, I availed myself of the information he was ever ready to impart. In fact, he was the most intelligent and correct of all the Indians I ever met with. He gave me a succinct account of the inland tribes at that period, besides numerous hints of value pertaining to the history and geography of the interior."

Mahanerwa showed, in his conversation with me, his familiar acquaintance with the geography of the region concerning which I made my inquiries. Leaning out of his hamack, with a stick in his hand,

he marked on the sand of the floor the issuing of the river Parima from the lake, the situation of the Branco, which is the name it takes after the junction of the Tacutu with it, the river Maho, fort St. Joachim, &c.

Afterward, on my return to the post, I saw a Macoussie Indian, who said he lived near the lake and had often crossed it;—that it takes five days to cross it, and that it is the same time from the Essequibo to it. That it is surrounded by red sand, and is formed by a river, and discharges itself into another called the Rareenee, which empties into the Rio Negro.

An European colonist, residing some distance up the Essequibo, whom I saw on my passage down, gave me an account very similar to the above Indian testimony. He said, that he had been in the interior and over the region on which this lake is situated; that it is in a savanna, and the water discharges itself in the Rippununi and Siperouni, and the bottom of it is white clay. The Macoussies dig a pit in it in the dry season to get water. The rocks round it are half-wooded, half-bare; are black, and as the sun shines, glisten; (probably granitic rocks,) red and white sand are around the hills. *Neither Dr. Hancock nor Mr. Waterton, he said, went so far west.*

The view presented by the different accounts I received, which I have recited respecting the lake Parima, agree with the opinions of Danville and La Cruz, that there is such a lake in this region; and confirm the opinion of the former, that the Cayouni and Mazerouni branches of it, also rise out of it in addition to the streams mentioned by Humboldt, while they show the hypothesis of Surville, that it is only the lake Amucu, to be incorrect. It also agrees with the idea of Humboldt, that it is only the inundation of a tract of country; but do not support his opinion, that it is formed by the lake Amucu and the overflows of the tributaries of the Branco, as it clearly appears to be a distinct body of water. Hartsinck, in a map published with his work, places it at some distance from the lake Amucu. The other testimonies I collected on the subject support this statement.

It appears from them generally, that the lake Amucu, which is the source of the Maho and Pirara, is bounded by the Macoussie mountains on the west—the European colonist, whom I have mentioned, who went over the region on which lake Parima lies, says it discharges itself into the Siperouni and the Rippununi—and the Essequibo journalist observes the Siperouni and the Annayoca creek a tributary of the Rippununi, rise out of the Macoussie mountains. From these relations taken together it appears probable that the inundated savanna, called lake Parima, is west of these mountains and not far from them. Humboldt is also, I think, incorrect in supposing the lake derives its name from the river Parima, being only an expansion of it. It appears more probable that the river takes its name from the lake. Its distance probably is not very great from the Rippununi, for Keymis says that the Indians proceeding to the head of the Essequibo, by which he must mean this branch of it, “carry

their canoes one day's journey to a lake, which he says is called by the Charibees Parima, and the Jaos Roponowini." Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, says it is four days' journey from his place; and from the Essequibo Journalist it appears, that it cannot take much less time to come from it to the Rippununi.

On the whole, from the examination which has been made, it appears indubitable that there is an extensive tract inundated, separate from the lake Amucu, on the table-land between the Essequibo and the Oronoke, on which passes the Cordillera of Parima—that various streams flow from it northwardly, southwardly and eastwardly, of which the Parima is the principal—which has either given name to this inundation, or the river derives its appellation from it.

The real character of this body of water, which, until recently, was always denominated a lake, being only a temporary inundation; Humboldt, it has been seen, has not been willing to admit it in his map, in which he has been followed by subsequent geographers; and the lake Parima has now entirely disappeared from the maps of South America, while the little lake Amucu has maintained its place, as in the large map of Arrow-smith, which I have made the basis of the sketch of Guyana, prefixed to this volume.

And as in Guyana the year is divided between two rainy and two dry seasons, each of three months, and during the former it rains continually, the water must fill the savanna as fast as it flows out of it; and the inundation must therefore exist for half the year and perhaps some time longer, as, after each rainy season, so large a body of water cannot be immediately discharged.

D'Anville, the most eminent geographer of his time, after all the doubts and controversies about it, finally inserted it in his second map, published in 1760; and La Cruz, in 1775, also in his—which has been followed by all modern geographers, until the publication of Humboldt. Hartsinck, also, who states that he obtained his information concerning it, from the Dutch settlements in Guyana, likewise gives it a place in his map. Further, Alcedo, a Spanish writer, in his Geographical Dictionary, a work of great authority, published in 1786, speaks positively of such a lake. "Parima is," he observes, "a very great lake of the province of Dorado, the depot of many rivers, and which discharges itself by a very large arm into the Rio Blanco, and by others. Some modern authors pretend that it is fabulous; but, according to the latest and most certain observations, such a lake actually exists. Its extent is not well known, and varies according to different relations. It is of a rectangular form, and the greater part of travellers make it eighty-two leagues (two hundred and forty-six miles,) from east to west. It resembles a small sea, and the water is saltish. On the N. N. E., rises out of it the river Cayuni, which joins the Essequibo. On the south flows out the Paranapitinga, or Yagurapiri—also called the White Water."

There are some reasons why geographers should hesitate in expunging this lake from their maps. Although it is only a temporary inundation, it appears from the accounts given by the Charibee chief and others, to have a distinct basin—being in a savanna called by a particular name, *Machewai*; is surrounded by rocks, and around it are white and red sand, and it is never entirely dry; but there always remains a pond, which is full of fish called *cassamaima*.

Concerning the extent of this lake Parima, I am unable to form an exact idea from the relation of the Charibee chief—not knowing the rate at which the Indians of Guyana travel. A probable estimate of it only can be formed. He stated, that it takes seven days to cross the savanna; and supposing that they travel at the rate of thirty to thirty-five miles per day—the length of the lake would be from two hundred to two hundred and fifty miles. These are about the dimensions which Alcedo gives to it. La Cruz makes it one hundred miles long, and fifty broad.\* Humboldt observes, that the northern bank of the Urariapara, one of the tributaries of Rio Branco, above St. Rosa, is called *el Valle del Inundacion*, and suggests, that this may be only an expansion of Mar Blanco, or the White Sea—as the difference between St. Rosa and the Rippununi, and lake Amucu, is but three degrees and a half—which appears probable, for this difference of longitude is not greater than the length of the lake, according to Alcedo.

This great inundation is produced, as observed, by the rainy seasons, which periodically occur in Guyana; and how great a quantity of water falls during their continuance, may be judged from the following remarks in Mr. M. Martin's History of the British Colonies:—"During the wet season, the wind is often from the S. W., and then the rain descends in torrents—sometimes for two or three days without intermission. At these periods, the sailors say, it only leaves off raining to commence pouring,"—and, in the interior, the rain falls more than on the coast. "In the hurricane months," says the same writer, "when the Caribbee islands are ravaged with terrific tempests, vast masses of clouds—Pelion-like upon Ossa—advance toward the south. The mountains inland reverberate with pealing thunder, and the night is illuminated with faint lightning coruscations. Brief storms succeed. Upon the hills in the interior, the clouds discharge three times as much rain as falls upon the coast."

A circumstance stated by Sir Walter Raleigh respecting lake Parima, that it is a salt lake, Humboldt considers merely an imaginary idea, formed from remembrance of the salt lake of Mexico. But that his relation is correct, is supported by several testimonies. Lawrence Keymis, in the passage I have above quoted from him, calls it so. "From the mouth of the Oyapocke, the inhabitants pass in their canoes, in twenty days, to the Salt Lake, whereon Manoa standeth."† And, on the Oronoke, he was informed by a Charibee captain, "that a nation of clothed people dwell not far from where this river doth first take its name, and that far within they

\* Pinkerton's Geography, vol. 2. ch. i.

† Cayley. vol. 2. p. 332.

border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima.”\* Keymis, it is true, was an officer under Raleigh; but it is very improbable that he should, for the purpose of furthering his views, state a circumstance regarding the lake—if he had not heard it—which did not, in the least, contribute to support the idea of a splendid city on its borders. But that such is its character, is confirmed by other testimonies. In the statement made respecting it by the Governor of Demerara, in 1765, “it has been seen,” he says, “the Indians resorted to it to gather from it a substance which they called salt—some of which was brought to him—but which, on examination, he found to be saltpetre.” Further, Dr. Hancock says, that in going from the Rippununi westward to the Macoussie mountains, he crossed through a barren salt savanna. If such is the character of the soil there, it is not improbable, that of the land farther west may be the same. Again, Alcedo, in the passage I have above cited from him, says this lake “resembles a small sea, and the water is *saltish*.”

Lakes of this character are numerous in South America, as the Los Xarayes, in the flat plains of La Plata, which is formed by the collected waters of the torrents which flow during the rainy season from the mountains of Chiquitos. The Paraguay swelling over its banks at that period, inundates an expanse of flat land, under the 17th degree south latitude, to an extent of three hundred and thirty miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth; but when the waters of the Paraguay abate, this lake becomes a marsh. Besides this lake, there are many others of great size.† Further, the numerous lakes in this province are generally shallow, and produced by the overflowing of the rivers; but they have the singular quality of being mostly saline. There is in these vast plains through which the rivers pass, an immense tract of land, the soil of which is saturated with fossil salt. It extends to the south of Buenos Ayres. This substance appears in the greatest abundance between Santa Fe and Cordova, where the whole ground is covered with a white incrustation. . . . Natural saltpetre is also collected in this part of the country. After a shower, the ground is whitened with it.‡

• Lake Parima is sometimes called the “White Sea;” a circumstance which corroborates the testimony I have given, that the river Parima, which below the Tacutu is called Rio Branco, or Rio des Agues Blancas, or river of white waters, flows out of it. The whiteness of the lake is no doubt produced by a circumstance, stated by one of my informants respecting it, that the bottom of it is white clay. The Macoussie Indian said, it discharges itself into the Rareenee—by which he intended the Parima, for, he added, the Rareenee discharges itself into the Rio Negro. This word was, perhaps, meant for Areena, which is clay in the Charibee language—and shows that the whiteness of this river originates from the same cause as that of the lake.

\* Cayley, vol. 2, p. 328.

† Bonnycastle's South America, p. 348.

‡ Bonnycastle's South America, p. 316-8.



This view is confirmed by Dr. Hancock, in the following remarks—part of a communication made by him respecting this region, to Mr. Martin: “The soil of some of the upland savannas is composed of clay and gravel, very close, and, though apparently sterile, yielding food for the immense herds of cattle and horses, that pasture along the Rio Branco. Of a very pure white clay, there are immense masses, forming the high banks of the Essequibo above the falls. . . . The Conoko mountains form an isolated group, seated on the elevated plains which separate two great systems of rivers, the tributary streams of the Essequibo flowing N. E., and those of the Tacutu, Branco, &c., toward the Rio Negro and Amazon. From the summit of these mountains can be seen the spot where the Tacutu and Rippununi take their rise. The soil here is of a pure white clay, (not chalk,) *giving to the Rio Branco, and other rivers, a milky color*, owing to the quantity of clay therein diffused, and in such a minute state of subdivision, as to require several days before the water will become transparent by deposition.”\*

But that lake Parima is a White Sea, and also salt, is conclusively shown by the following unexceptionable testimony. In the collection of voyages by Purchas, is an account of one made to the river Oyapoke, in Cayenne, by Robert Harcourt, in 1608—which is thirteen years after the first voyage of Raleigh—with a view of making a settlement there; and who had with him, including officers and seamen, ninety-seven persons. As the testimony I have mentioned, which is that of a person who accompanied him, is a most valuable document in regard to the defence of Raleigh, some account of it will be given. Harcourt, on his arrival at the Oyapoke, held a conference with one of the chiefs, and being secure of the good-will of the Indians, took possession of the country, for the crown of England. After making some examination of the river, he appointed one of his officers to remain there with a party of his company, “to continue the possession,” and proceeded with his vessels and the rest, to the Cayenne river. From this place he went with his boat, taking with him “captain Fisher—his brother, Unton Fisher, an apothecary”—and about six more, to the Mariwin, to explore that river, and proceeded up it forty leagues, when the passage was so obstructed by rocks and shoals, and, finally, high falls, that he was obliged to return. Determined, however, to have this river examined, on going down he stopped at a town, the third from the sea, whose chief was Maperitaka—where, on ascending it, he had been very hospitably received—and at this point of his journey, he remarks: “At this town, I left my cousin, Unton Fisher, an apothecary, and one servant to attend him; and having first taken order with Maperitaka, for their diet and other necessities, both for travel and otherwise, (who, ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithful friend,) I gave directions to my cousin, Fisher, to prosecute the discovery of Mariwini, when the time of the year, and the

\* M. Martin's Hist. British Colonies, vol. 2, ch. 1.

waters better served; and, if it were possible, to go up the high country of Guyana and to find out the city of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his discovery. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his ability—being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergo these employments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the languages of the people.”\*

Immediately following the account of this voyage in Purchas, is a narrative with this title, “Relation of the habitations, and other observations of the Mariwin,” without a name. In the margin Purchas says, “I found this fairly written in M. Hackluyt’s papers, but know not who was the author.”† But there cannot be the least doubt that it was a journal made by Unton Fisher, as not only two-thirds of it is an account of the interior of Guyana and the city of Manoa, concerning which Harcourt directed him to inquire, and no other English voyager is known, at that period, to have explored this river; but as the account Harcourt gives of Fisher’s discoveries on it and other matters, agrees with the Relation, and some part of it is in the very language of it, as will be seen in Appendix No. I, where, as far as is material to the subjects I am examining, it is annexed entire. The account which the relater, whom I shall style the Mariwin Inquirer, gives of Guyana and the city of Manoa, states he received “from an ancient Indian, who came from the head of Surinam in a canoe with four others,” who belonged to the Oronoke, and was of the nation of Yaïos, a branch of the Charibees, and who speak the same language. He had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and would have been put to death, but because he had been a great traveller and knew the country well, they kept him for a guide, and afterward he contrived to escape in a boat, and came to the river Surinam and proceeded to the head of it. He appears, in his travels, to have gone over the country from the Esse-quiibo to the Oronoke, and to have given the account the relater received from him, from his personal knowledge; for he said “it was a month’s journey by land, from the head of Mariwin and the head of Disseekebe, and from the head of Disseekebe to the head of Orenoq, a month’s travel.”

This relation of the Mariwin Inquirer is entitled to unqualified credit, as it proceeds from a wholly disinterested source; Harcourt having not only made his voyage unconnected with Raleigh, but subsequently obtained, with two other persons, a grant from the crown of England, of the whole of Guyana from the Amazon to the space on the Oronoke, occupied by the Spaniards—in opposition, as far at least as regards the subjects of England, to his prior claims. Those associated with Harcourt, were, therefore, also free from any bias in favor of Raleigh; and that Fisher gave a correct relation of what he observed and learned on the Mariwin, the character given of him by Harcourt affords a full assurance.

\* Purchas’s Coll. of Voyages, 4. vol., Book vi., ch. xvi.

† Purchas, vol. 4, book vi, ch. xvii.

In regard to the subject which is under immediate consideration—the character of lake Parima—he has the following interesting passage :

*“The ancient Indian, likewise spake of a very fair and large city in Guyana, which he called Monooan—which I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth MANOA—which standeth by a SALT LAKE, which he called PARROOWAN PARROCARE MONOAN, in the province of Asæccona. The Chief Captain, or Acariwonnora, as he called him, was PEPODALLAPA.”*

These words—Parroowan, Parrocare, Manooan—I find to belong to the Charibee language, according to a vocabulary of it, as spoken in Cayenne, made by Biet, a missionary, annexed to his account of his travels there. Parroowan, (Parona,) signifying sea ; Parrocare, (Aboirike,) white. Monooan, the relater considers to be Manoa ; but I shall hereafter show, is more properly translated of the Manoas, a tribe of Indians—for Manoa, in Raleigh's Narrative, was not the lake, but a place upon it ; and thus the name of the lake, as given by the ancient Indian, is WHITE SEA OF THE MANOAS.

Of the manner in which the lake Parima discharges itself, the preceding examination has shown that it may be considered indubitable, that, on the south, its waters flow out through the Rio Branco by various tributaries, of which the Parima is one ; and, on the east, by the principal branches of the Essequibo, the Rippununi, Siperouni, Mazerouni, and Cayouni. On the north, it has been observed, that Raleigh says the Caroli (Caroni,) and Arvi, both tributaries of the Oronoke, take their rise from lake Cassipa.

The researches of Humboldt have elicited no positive information on this subject, but he is inclined to think the assertion of Raleigh correct ; for the Caroni is formed by the union of two branches of almost equal magnitude, the Caroni, properly so called, and the Rio Paragua, and the latter river is called by the missionaries of Piriteo, a lake. “It is full of shoals and little cascades, but passing through a country entirely flat, it is subject at the same time to great inundations, and its real bed can scarcely be discovered. The natives have given it the name of Paragua or Parava, which means in the Charibee language a great lake.” He also thinks the opinion of Caulin, that the Caura, another tributary of the Oronoke, west of the Arvi, also flows out of lake Cassipa, or Parima, is to be relied on, as it was founded upon testimony collected by Don Jose Antonio Solano, in his expedition of boundaries.

“On the west, in the great map of La Cruz,” remarks Humboldt, “the Oronoke takes its rise, under the names of Parima or Paruma, in the mountainous land between the Ventuari and the Caura, in the latitude of five degrees, from a small lake called Ipava. The Rio Parima, after a course of forty degrees east-northeast, and sixty leagues northeast, receives the Rio Mahu ; then enters into lake Parima, which is supposed to be thirty leagues long and twenty broad. From this lake three rivers immediately issue—the Rio Ucamu, (Ocamoo,) the Rio Idapa, (Siapa,) and the Rio Branco. The Oronoke, or Parima, is indicated as a subterraneous filtration, at the western side of the Sierra Mei, which skirts

the lake or White Sea, in the west. This strange disposition of the rivers is become the type of almost all the modern maps of Guyana."

It is very probable that La Cruz formed his theory from a misapprehension of reports he heard. A river Parima, it has been seen, flows from the lake at the south; and a river Mahu, which comes out of the same chain of mountains, joins the Tacutu which enters into the Parima, which then takes the name of Branco. But La Cruz places them on the northern side of the lake. From this it may be seen, how little is known of the geography of this region. Even in the Spanish provinces north of this lake, an entire ignorance appears to exist on the subject. In a map of Venezuela and Guyana, attached to a theory of Caraccas by De Pons—who resided four years in different parts of them—published in 1805, in which the lake Parima is conspicuously laid down, he adopts the theory of La Cruz, in regard to a river Parima joined by the Mahu, flowing into it at the north. On the east he makes no stream whatever issue from it. The different branches of the Essequibo are placed at a distance from it. At the southeast corner, exactly three large arms issue, which form the Branco, that makes a bold sweep to the west before it flows to the south. No other tributary of this river, or any other stream, flows from the southern side of the lake. Such are the erroneous ideas entertained in the Spanish territories, so late as 1805, regarding this lake. The inhabitants of Caraccas and Angustura know as little in what manner it discharges itself at the south, as the Portuguese the streams that issue from it at the north.

"Caulin," observes Humboldt, "in his map, makes the Oronoke rise out of lake Parima—but the lake he places to the east of the Rio Branco,"—a most strange idea.

Surville, who considers lake Parima to be only lake Amucu, substitutes for the lake Parima of La Cruz, another lake in latitude  $2^{\circ} 10'$ . Near this Alpine lake, rise from the same source the Oronoke, and the Rio Idapa, a tributary stream of the Cassiquiari. From this arrangement, altogether hypothetical, the origin of the Oronoke is no lake, and its sources are independent of lake Parima.\*

La Cruz, it has been observed, makes the Oronoke, by the name of Parima, rise out of the lake, which is a distinct fact from the other, which he states, that a river of that name first flows into it from the north. Caulin also makes the Oronoke rise out of the lake, though he places it in a singular location. It is not improbable this is the origin of the Oronoke, at least, that one of the streams that form it issues from the lake, and it is possible it may have the name of Parima; for it would not be extraordinary if the lake should give its name to more than one river rising out of it in different directions.

There is a striking passage on this subject in the voyage of Keymis, which I have already cited for another purpose. He was informed by a *Charibee captain on the Oronoke*, "that a nation of clothed people, called

\* Humboldt's *Pem. Nar.* chap. xxiv.

Cassanari, dwell not far from the place where the river first takes the name of Oronoke, and that far within they border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima ;” or, as appears to be the meaning, there was a nation called Cassanari, bordering upon the sea called Parima, which was not far from where the Oronoke first bears that name. Hence this river must have run some distance before, and as the lake was not far from where it first takes the name, it seems a reasonable conclusion that it flowed out of it. “The Charibees,” says Keymis, “are, of all Indians, those that know most of the inland—a circumstance caused by their being spread over the greater part of Guyana, and their constant habits of trading and warlike expeditions.

Humboldt was unable to elucidate this subject by personal examination, having ascended the Oronoke only a short distance from Esmeralda, the last Christian post on it—a little hamlet of eighty houses situated at its bifurcation with the Cassaquari. Of the causes which prevented his progress farther, he gives the following relation. “This river may,” he observes, “be ascended without danger from Esmeralda as far as the cataracts occupied by the Guyaca Indians, who prevent ulterior progress of the Spaniards. This is a voyage of six days and a half, in which distance it receives several streams. At the mouth of the Gehette is a cataract, formed by a dike of granite rocks crossing the Oronoke, which are the columns of Hercules, beyond which no white man has been able to penetrate, and known by the name of the Raudal Guahariboes, three-quarters of a degree east of Esmeralda—consequently in  $67^{\circ} 38'$  longitude. A military expedition, undertaken by the commander of the fort of San Carlos, Don Francisco Bovadilla, led to the most minute information respecting the cataracts of the Guahariboes. He heard that some fugitive negroes, proceeding toward the west, had joined the independent Indians. He attempted a hostile incursion, from the desire of procuring African slaves better fitted for labor than the native race. Bovadilla arrived without difficulty as far as the little Raudal, opposite the Gehette ; but, having advanced to the foot of the rocky dike that forms the great cataracts, he was suddenly attacked, while he was breakfasting, by the Guahariboes and the Guaycas, two warlike tribes, celebrated for the activity of their arrow-poison. The Indians occupied the rocks that rise in the middle of the river, and seeing the Spaniards without bows, and having no knowledge of fire-arms, they provoked the whites, whom they believed to be without defence. Several of the latter were dangerously wounded, and Bovadilla found himself forced to give the signal of battle. A horrible carnage ensued among the natives, but no Dutch negroes were found. Notwithstanding a victory so easily won, the Spaniards did not dare to advance toward the east, in a mountainous country, and along a river closed by very high banks.”\*

Informed of these facts, Humboldt proceeded up the Oronoke beyond Esmeralda only, as far as the mouth of the Guapo, two and a half days

\* Humboldt's *Pern. Nat.* vol. 5. pp. 538-540.

journey, which is fifteen leagues distant from the Raudal of the Guahariboes.\*

An examination having been thus made into the existence, the locality, and the character of the lake Parima of geographers—called by Sir Walter Raleigh the lake Cassipa,—the more important circumstance related by him, the “rich and magnificent city on its borders, which the natives call Manoa, and the Spaniards El Dorado,” will now be considered.

On this subject, an inquiry will first be made, without referring to the character given of this city, whether a place called Manoa—either a large city, or a considerable Indian settlement, whatever it may be—has been related to exist in the interior of Guyana, by any other person than Sir Walter Raleigh. The contrary has generally been taken for granted; and on this assumption, a foundation has been laid by his personal enemies at that time, and prejudiced historians since, to consider his whole relation respecting it as purely his own invention—or a delusion arising from his vain imagination. But in this respect, as well as others, great injustice has been done to him. Lawrence Keymis, subsequent to him, at two different places on the coast of Guyana, viz., at the Oyapoke, in Cayenne, and on the Essequibo, “heard of Manoa, situated upon a lake called Parima,” far within the country, and the distance to it from the mouth of each river.

On the Oronoque, he also heard of it, from a Charibee captain, who said it was twenty days from the Wiapoco, (Oyapoke,); and gave him, also, the distance to it from several rivers between the Essequibo and Oronoque. Keymis, it is true, was an associate of Raleigh, and this account might be supposed made to favor his views; but that he did not copy the relation from him, and give, as it were, a second edition of it, is fully established by the fact that he calls the lake by the name of Parima—while that which Raleigh gives it is Cassipa—who was not aware of the other, which is the name by which it has been always called, on the coast of Guyana. Further, it has already been observed, that the Mariwin Inquirer, a wholly disinterested witness, states, that the ancient Indian from the head of the river Surinam, spoke of a very fine and large city in Guyana—which he called Monooan—which, says the journalist, I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa, which standeth by a salt lake, &c.

That a large Indian population formerly existed in the region assigned for the locality of this lake, is rendered probable by several considerations.

There is at present a large collection of Indian nations in this region. From the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, I received the following list of tribes, which, he said, inhabited about Parima, viz: Macoussies, Tiberacottis, Carenacottis, Wyomeera, Wyocooma, Sapara, Poweeana, Awaeo, Pareenapana, Eenao, Mako, Seewaianos. His son-in-law, Areewya, added Mahanaos, Areewas, Braveeana, Eeponois, Cawera. The nations residing farther east, on the different branches of the Essequibo, I learned

\* Humboldt's Pers. Nar. p. 574.

from authentic sources, are the following: On, or near the Rippununi are Macoussies, Wapisanas, and some Charibees, with a few scattering Indians—the remains of tribes who have been reduced by the Charibees, and the greater portion driven away—all of whom, except this nation, live either on the tops of the mountains, or close to their foot; where the soil is strong and productive. On the Siperouni, are Macoussies and Ackoways, and two or three other tribes. On the east, or main branch of the Essequibo, the two principal nations are the Atorays, or Atorees, and the Turamas, a numerous and warlike nation, besides a number of others. Three of these nations, the Ackoways, Atorays, and Macoussies, were mentioned a century ago, by Nicholas Hortsman, according to Humboldt, as residing in this locality. I obtained vocabularies of their languages, which are, I believe, unknown in Europe;—the two first, taken down by myself: also, of the Tiberacotti, one of the nations about lake Parima—all which are in the Table, Appendix No. V., to this volume.

The Macoussies are numerous, and more inclined to industry than the other Indians; but are of a very timid character—and hence, are attacked by them, and made slaves. Hostile tribes accommodate their differences to join in an expedition against them, for this object; and almost all the tribes possess a number of slaves captured from them. From these causes, they are reduced to a small number. They employ poison, as a means of destruction against their enemies; and are the makers of the most virulent kind known in Guyana—the woorara, or arrow-poison, from whom the other tribes purchase it. They use it, also, as a means of defence;—surrounding their dwellings with poisoned stakes. The Atorays, or Atorees, possess a very pacific temper. They are never known to commence aggressive wars, and submit quietly to any attacks upon them.

The Ackoways, are a branch of the Charibees. Their language resembles that of this nation. They possess their brave and warlike character, and also their enterprising and trading spirit; and through them the trade, between the different nations of Guyana, is now principally carried on.

The state of the tribes, too, denotes that this part of Guyana was once much more populous; as they are, generally, the mere remnants of nations. Other tribes have lived here, who are now entirely destroyed, or driven away to the Portuguese territories, by the preponderating sway of the Charibees. It is true, the two periodical inundations which form the lake, continue together for half a year; but, judging from the state of the population at the east of it, on the same Cordillera, according to the relations of several travellers whom I have cited, the nations who inhabited the inundated district, dwelt on the mountains. One of the Macoussie mountains, says the Essequibo journalist, is mount Itaka, which he ascended, and half-way up, found a settlement of twelve houses. Dr. Hancock says this mountain is an isolated peak, steep and rugged, difficult to climb, and that on the summit are five houses. On the sides of the mountains,

though they appear sterile, cassada, corn, plaintains, &c., thrive **astonishingly** well. Mr. Waterton speaks of a steep and high hill, full of **immense** rocks, which he ascended; the huts built on which, were not all in one place, but dispersed wherever they could find a spot level enough for a lodgment. And the population was not only on mountains around the lake. In it, says Alcedo, are many islands; and in the mountains many nations who have given rise to the imaginary El Dorado, the cause of so many misfortunes and deaths. From the length which he gives it of two hundred and forty-six miles; and, taking a breadth for it of fifty miles, according to La Cruz; if, as Alcedo supposes, it is rectangular, it would cover a space of twelve thousand square miles—as large a body of water as lake Ontario, or Erie, and which Raleigh compares to the Caspian sea. This space, surrounded and spread over with mountains, was capable of containing an extensive population. The whole of Guyana appears to have been much more thickly inhabited than at present. The borders of the Oronoke, exhibit the same appearance, as to the state of the tribes on it, as the region at the sources of the Essequibo. The population is scanty while there is the greatest number of nations, or remnants of tribes. The variety of idioms, observes Humboldt, that are spoken on the banks of the Meta, the Oronoke, the Cassiquiari, and the Rio Negro, is so prodigious, that a traveller, however great may be his talent for languages, can never flatter himself with learning enough to make himself understood along the navigable rivers, from Angustura to the Rio Negro.

From the situation of this lake, communicating with so many rivers, flowing in different directions with the Oronoke, the Amazon and the Atlantic, a large assemblage of Indians would almost inevitably be collected there. A great number, in particular, would not fail to come to it by the Rio Branco, which unites with the Rio Negro, a large arm of the Amazon, on whose banks are a multitude of natives. D'Acugna, who makes the length of the Amazon about one thousand two hundred leagues—a less estimate than that of Orellana, which is one thousand eight hundred—observes, that its borders were so thickly populated when he passed down in 1639, that the habitations of the Indians along the whole were near each other; and that not merely in one nation, but the settlements of two contiguous nations were at such little distance from each other, that sounds could be heard from the last habitation of one by several of the other. The tributaries of this river, both on the north and south side, were likewise thickly inhabited. It is very probable, also, that there was an emigration from the Oronoke to this region. Some of the tribes now in it, appear to have come from that river. The Atorays, or Atorees of the Essequibo (the name is written both ways) are probably the Atures of the Oronoke—a number of whom, Humboldt says, have been found east of the Esmeralda, which is directly west of lake Parima. The Atures belong to the great stock of Saliva nations, who are the most intelligent tribes on the Oronoke. *The Atorees are an industrious, mild, and pacific nation, and appear to have a degree of mechanical skill above the other tribes. They are the sole*



makers of the stone rasps, used by the other Indians for grating the cassava root. Their houses are made with rather more art than those of the others, being circular. In the neighborhood of Mahanerwa's place, the Essequibo journalist says there are four round houses, filled with clay, entirely closed, except a space for an entrance, which were erected from some singular notion the makers imbibed. These, I was informed, were made by the Atorees. They are on an eminence, and make a singular appearance in that wilderness country. The Macoes, according to the Charibee chief, are one of the nations about lake Parima. A nation of the same name exists on the Oronoke, and like the Atures, belong to the Saliva stock. The Wapisanas, on the Rippununi, are perhaps the Guaypanabis of the Oronoke. The first syllable of each name is the same, according to a different pronunciation. Thus, the Guaranos, at the mouth of this river, are called Warrows; the Guykeries, Wikiries. Furious contests formerly existed between the Guaypanabis and the Charibees of the Oronoke, and the Wapisanas are pursued by those of the Essequibo with such a determined spirit, that they have taken up their abodes toward the tops of the highest mountains, and dare not appear in the level country.

Humboldt says, that from Caycara, on the Oronoke, a little below the cataracts of the Atures, the Indians formerly had a road that led to Essequibo and Demerara.

Raleigh says there were around the lake Cassipa (Parima) three mighty nations, the Cassipagotos, Awaragotos, and Eparagotos. Who they were, I have not been able to learn. The termination *goto*, belongs to the Charibee language, as in the Tiberacottis and Arenacottis tribes now around the lake. Eparagotos and Tiberacottis seem to have some resemblance—a consonant is sometimes put, by the Indians, before words to improve the sound.

This circumstance, too, of so many rivers rising near each other, and by short portages communicating together, would lead the borderers of the Atlantic coast and the Oronoke frequently to pass through Guyana to the Rio Negro and the Amazon, and those on the latter river to make the opposite journey, for the purpose of trafficking with the articles growing or made in their respective regions; and in the end would probably render the region of Parima, whence these rivers rise, a common rendezvous, or market-ground, for the same purpose; by which their mutual exchanges could be more conveniently carried on. Some indications of this exist at the present day. The Essequibo journalist, speaking of his visit to the Charibee chief, says: "The trade between the Charibees, Alorays, Macoussies, Wapisanas and Turamas, goes on the whole year, and this place is the great market—every day strangers are coming and going—visits from all quarters."

But the tribes at a distance, had the additional motive to visit this region to obtain many articles, either found solely in it, or more readily obtained here than elsewhere.

The forests of Guyana have always presented an interesting field to the naturalist. The great luxuriance of vegetation which they exhibit, caused by a prolific soil and tropical sun, producing an innumerable variety of plants; the many majestic and beautiful trees of singular forms, standing conspicuous in the landscape; the great variety of birds of rich and splendid plumage which adorn them; the multitude of rare and curious quadrupeds with which they are thronged, with innumerable varieties of the insect race, are everywhere calculated to arrest his attention. But in the mountainous region of Parima, a field for his researches is presented, not exceeded by that of any other country, in the animals of all the orders which are peculiar to it, the many new varieties found here of those already known, the rare vegetable productions, useful for food or other purposes, the many curious and valuable woods, the medicinal plants, and the gums, oils, &c., with which it abounds.

Of the abundance, variety, and beauty of the natural productions, both in the animal and vegetable domain, in the interior of British Guyana, the following lively description has been given by Capt. J. E. Alexander, in his *Trans-Atlantic Sketches*, published in 1833; who, accompanied by Mr. Hillhouse, surveyor of Demerara, a gentleman of intelligence and well acquainted with that colony, ascended the Essequibo, and then proceeded up the Mazarouni two hundred and thirty-four miles. The description relates to the scenery on that river:

"At every turn of the river, says the author, we descried objects of great interest. The dense, and nearly impenetrable forest itself, occupied our chief attention. Magnificent trees, altogether new to me, were anchored to the ground by the bush-rope. Convolvuli and the flowers of parasitical plants of every variety, caused the woods to appear as if hung with garlands. Preëminent above the other sons of the forest, was the towering and majestic mora. Its trunk spread out into buttresses, and on its top could be seen the king of vultures, spreading out his immense wings to dry after the dews of night.

"Rivalling the mora in height, and surpassing it in beauty, was the silk cotton-tree. A naturalist might study for days one of these grand objects, produced by exuberant nature from the richest mould, with the combined advantages of a tropical sun and moist atmosphere, and still he will find something new, and much to wonder at.

"Supporting many other plants, and a numerous colony of animated nature, on the topmost branches of the tree are seen the wild pine—while the vines, descending like shrouds to the earth, afford to the traveller a pleasant beverage; for if skilfully cut with a knife, the water gushes out. . . . The opossum, and other small quadrupeds, ascending by the vines, drink from the deep cup of the pines, which contains nearly a quart of water, collected from the dews and rain. In the forks of the branches are seen the black clay nests of the wood-ant, with double galleries down the stem, by which the tiny colonists ascend and descend, *without interrupting* each other. Sometimes the marabouts, or wild bees,

occupy the place of the ants, and are surrounded by the hanging nests of the black and yellow mocking-birds.

"Here and there, singly or in groups, the royal palmetto reared its head one hundred feet in height, and the stem seven or eight feet in thickness. The straight gray pillar terminates in a green edible shaft, affording the mountain cabbage; then the branches, fifteen feet in length, spread out horizontally, from which depended the close-set pinnated and pointed leaves, agitated by the slightest breath of air.

"While we lay, in the noonday heat, shadowed underneath the thick wood, the very peculiar and romantic cry of the campanero, or bell-bird, would be heard at intervals. It is white, about the size of a pigeon, with a leathery excrescence on its forehead; and the sound which it produces in the lone woods, is like that of a convent bell tolling at a distance."

Captain Alexander then gives an account of some remarkable quadrupeds of this region, as the tapir, or American elephant; the spotted jaguar; the manati, or sea-cow; and the cayman, or alligator; but his animated description I am obliged to omit, not to extend the extract to too great a length.

"The trees of the forest, matted together by bush-rope, here running up their stems, and then joining branch to branch, were at times alive on each side of the river, with the restless saccoawabee, or small red monkey, with a white face. They travel from tree to tree with facility, by means of the wild vines; and numerous families of these active little creatures, with their offspring on their backs, may be seen disporting themselves among the leaves, and feeding on the nuts, far removed from their enemies, the snakes below.

"Then advancing up a creek, the wanderer may come to a lonely spot, rocks and trees casting broad shadows into the pools; and he will there see the spotted wirrabocerra, or the red bajeer deer, reposing at noon, or rushing, with panting sides, to the water. The flesh of both these deer is delicious.

"Rushing through entangled brush-wood, will be heard a score or two of picarree hogs. The ant, bear, tree-porcupine, the scaly armadilla, and the languid sloth, are not unfrequently met with, in traversing these luxuriant and unbroken forests; but above all, the red men desire to meet with the amphibious laaba, about the size of a pig a year old, and the body brown, with white spots, affording flesh rich and delicate.

"When the sun sinks rapidly in the west, and disappears behind the trees, like a fiery target, gorgeous macaws, and screaming parrots fly in pairs over head, returning from their feeding grounds, to their favorite roosts. The dreaded vampire then leaves the shady nest, or hollow tree, where he had dosed during the day, and flits on ebon and leathery wings along the river's bank. These foul bats are sometimes three feet from wing to wing.

"During the night, the owls and goat-suckers lament with ominous cry, and at early dawn the hannaqua loudly repeats its own name, and the

woodpeckers commence their hammering on decayed trees, and the mighty-billed toucans yelp from the loftiest trees. Near the mouths of the rivers, the curry-curry, or scarlet curlew, stalks conspicuously among other aquatic birds, and the falcon, pelican, and spoonbill, are seen with flocks of wild duck and teal, &c. With active though invisible wing, the minute humming-birds are often observed; the metallic lustre of their plumage glistening in the sunbeam. . . . Far removed from the hamlets of men, sits the cock of the rock, with red plumage so brilliant, that some will say it is impossible to look steadfastly on it. It is a crested bird, about the size of a pigeon, and of an elegant form; but I must not stop to describe at greater length, the great variety of the feathered tribe that are met with in these wilds; but merely mention the names of the scarlet and blue aras, the great trumpeter, and powese or peacock-pheasant, the brown maraddee, the spotted tiger-bird, the blue-bird and rice-bird, the green sparrow, and above all the kishee-kishee, the size of a lark, but decorated with splendid plumage, the various colors of which are beautifully arranged, so as to enchant the eye of every beholder.

"While on the Essequibo, I heard of a recluse, who collected insects, and I went in a canoe to visit him. . . . Mynheer Faber, a thin gray-headed man, displayed before me a rich and valuable entomological collection, consisting of the most beautiful varieties of the butterflies and moths, of beetles in cases of shining armor, lantern and fire-flies of different species, the remarkable walking-leaves, gigantic bush-spider, the red-footed tarantula, centipedes, a foot long, and scorpions, whose bite occasions fevers and death in a few hours.

"As a pupil of one of the most distinguished naturalists of the age, Prof. Jamieson, I might have been expected to enter more fully into the natural history of this region, but I am fearful of fatiguing many of those who honor these pages with their perusal. I therefore briefly state, that I know of no fairer field in the universe for a naturalist to distinguish himself in, than that of Guyana. There are vast mineral treasures yet to be discovered in the mountain ranges; the most valuable gums, spices, and medicinal plants abound in these romantic woods, scented by the sweet hyawa; and in a morning's walk under the matted trees, or by the side of the lonely creek, new species of insects inhabiting the land or water, are continually to be met with."

This sketch brings to mind, a passage in the narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh. His mind, quickly and deeply sensible to the beautiful and picturesque in nature, was so struck with the aspect of Guyana, that he breaks forth into the following enthusiastic terms respecting it: "I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer *crossing in every path*, and the birds toward the evening singing in every tree; with a thousand several tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson,

and carnation, perching on the river's side, the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind."

This passage has, no doubt, been viewed by superficial readers, or the prejudiced enemies of Raleigh, as a mere political rhapsody, and contributed, with the glowing terms in which, in other places he speaks of this country, to throw discredit upon his entire narrative. But, although it may be admitted that his enthusiasm led him to paint the scenery of Guyana with the pencil of a poet, the extract I have given from the account of a recent visitor to this region, is sufficient to acquit him of the charge of having framed the ground-work from his imagination, and even to excuse the warmth of his language.

I will not indulge a conjecture, which of all the various natural productions of the region in which the White Sea or lake Parima is situated, or of the articles fabricated by the tribes who inhabited it, might have attracted to it visitors from other nations; but will confine myself to those which are in no manner problematical.

Wild cotton may be enumerated among them.

Dr. Hancock, in his pamphlet entitled 'Observations,' &c., remarks: "The variety of valuable and interesting cottons in the interior of Guyana is very numerous." This is an article in great demand among the Indians, especially the Charibees, who manufacture it into cloth, of which they make their hammocks—and there are indications that they formerly made vestments of the same material.

The variety of birds of beautiful plumage, which abound in that region, could not fail, also, to attract to it visitors from other parts, to procure materials for the gay and splendid plumery with which all the Indians of Guyana are accustomed to array themselves. When we speak in Europe, observes Humboldt, of a native of Guyana, we figure to ourselves a man, whose head and waist are decorated with fine feathers of the macaw, the toucan, the lanager, and the humming-bird. The Charibees, and perhaps other nations, were besides, fond of having beautiful specimens of the feathered race among them, which they domesticated. Pinzon, in his voyage to South America, soon after Columbus, was presented, on the coast of Paria, as Martyr relates, "with a great multitude of peacocks, dead and alive, as well for his own use as to carry to Spain; also, with parrots of the greatest number, of every color."

At Guadaloupe, Columbus found, around the houses of the Charibees, many household fowls, especially a splendid species of parrot, called guacamayo, or the macaw. The Essequibo journalist states, that on his visit to the chief Mahanerwa, a captain of the Charibees came there from the river Corentine, to trade for "spun cotton and rare birds."

The valuable medicinal plants, with the virtues of which the Indians are acquainted—the odoriferous shrubs, the balsams and oils found in the interior parts of Guyana—the various beautiful woods growing there, of one of which, the letterwood—of extraordinary solidity, and variegated with marks—their bows and war-clubs are made, were probably formerly, as they are now, sought for in this region.

The fatal woorara, or arrow-poison, used by all the Indians of Guyana, is made by the Macoussies alone, one of the tribes in the mountainous region of Parima. The sarbacan, or blow-pipe, a straight and hollow reed, nine or ten feet long, through which a small arrow, about eight inches in length, poisoned at one end, is impelled by the breath; is also obtained from them, who are the sole makers of it, and are the only nation who employ it in war. Other Indians obtain it, to use in killing birds or other small animals.

Honey, we may be certain, was found abundantly among the tribes in the mountains of Parima, and was an article of traffic among them. The variety of the species of bees there, and the different kinds of honey made by the Indians, is a matter of astonishment.

Although to researches in natural history, my attention was not directed while in Guyana, I was so struck with the beauty of a collection of preserved specimens of this valuable insect, made by a naturalist on the Essequibo, that I purchased it of him, consisting of forty-two varieties; and which, on my return to New-York, I presented to the Lyceum of Natural History of that city. I likewise obtained the Indian (arrowack) names for twenty-nine of these species, which facts were stated in a short paper I communicated to Professor Silliman's American Journal of Science.

A great attraction to the White Sea of Parima, also, was no doubt the salt found there. This article was also in demand among the Indians; an evidence of which is seen in a fact stated by Martyr, in describing the visit of Pinzon to the coast of Paria—that the Indians at some distance from it, were accustomed to come to it to obtain salt; which the Parians procured by allowing the water of the sea, when it rose and inundated a plain, to evaporate, and the salt was made into small cakes, with which they trafficked.

From a fact stated by D'Acugna, it seems not improbable the Indians on the Amazon supplied themselves with this article from the lake Parima. The Tupinambas, says this early writer, are a very ingenious and intelligent people, and inhabit an island in this river, sixty leagues in length, which commences twenty-eight leagues below the river Cayari, nearly directly south of this lake. They informed him that, on the north side of the river, were seven provinces adjoining one another, very populous, but the inhabitants were of little courage—that there was another nation beyond them whose confines extended to these, with whom they had been long at peace, and had a regular trade with the different commodities with which each country abounded, and that the principal thing they had from them was salt, which came from a place not far distant from them. D'Acugna mentions this as a most interesting fact—not having met with this article in its natural state, in the course of his voyage—and even speaks of the importance this salt region would be to the inhabitants of the provinces of Peru.\*

\* *Discovery of the Amazon*, by Ch. D'Acugna, London, 1688.

To these remarks, I add the following facts: that at the present day the Indians, in the interior of Guyana, are in the practice of bringing down the rivers Essequibo and Demerara, many curious and rare articles, the productions of the forests or their own fabrics, which always attract the attention of European visitors, who commonly purchase some of these "curiosities" to take with them on their return. Instead of giving a detail of them, I extract from Dr. Bancroft's History of Guyana, in 1764, an account of those which the Charibees and Ackoways were then in the practice of bringing down from the interior to traffick with the Europeans, viz: canoes, hammacks, beeswax, balsam capivi—a balsam called *arrecocerria*—the roots of hiaree for fishing—oil of caraiba, which is collected in large gourds, resembling the palm-oil of Guinea—different kinds of curious woods; letterwood; ducalla-bolla; ebony; vanilla; arnotta; cassia festuta; canulla alba; wild nutmeg; wild cinnamon; monkeys; parrots; parroquets, &c. This account, compared with one given by Keymis, two hundred years before, while it proves how little the customs of the Indians have changed during that time; furnishes, also, another instance of the accuracy of his statements. "From the mouth of the Co-rentine," he observes, "to the head, is twenty days, where the Guyanians dwell. Honey, cotton, silk, balsam, and brasil beds (hamacks,) may be had here in great plenty; and all along the coast eastward, also, divers sorts of drugs, gums, and roots." The abundance of these articles along the coast, shows that the intercourse with the interior by the different rivers emptying into the Atlantic was great—for the hammacks were obtained only from the Charibees, who are in the interior, and some of the others were no produced on the low alluvial lands of the coast.

Keymis says, he was told there was an infinite number of canoes in the lake. This would be the case if there was a large population there, for during the successive periods of inundation, each of three months or more, the inhabitants on the mountains would otherwise have no means of communication with each other; and if this place was much resorted to, the visitors would come to it in canoes. The great quantity of them in the lake is also expressly stated by the Mariwin Inquirer. The ancient Indians, from the head of the Surinam, informed him, "that once in every third year, all the Caciques or lords and captains, some seven days' journey from Monooan, do come to a great drinking, which continues for the space of ten days together, in which time they go sometimes fishing, fowling and hunting. Their fishing is in the salt lake, where is abundance of canoes, and those very great. They have many fish-pools of standing water, wherein they have abundance of fish." These fish-pools are agreeable to what was related to me by the Charibee chief, that after the lake had discharged itself there remained in a pool, which was full of fish, called cassamaima; and if this was resorted to there would probably be a number of such fish-pools, which the Indians would have no difficulty in making; as the Macoussies, who now live near it, are in the practice of going there in the dry season to get water, by "digging a pit in it," as one of my informants stated.

Limiting myself to a simple and strict detail of facts, I will not allow myself to imagine what consequences, besides those of mutual convenience for traffick, might have followed the assembling of Indians from various surrounding tribes, at this gathering place; what alliances might have been formed, what schemes of war projected, and how far the state of the population throughout Guyana might have been influenced by it. Nor will I attempt to sketch the scene which the White Sea would, on these occasions present, with mountains around it and dispersed over it, covered with granitic rocks, the micaceous particles of which glistened in the sun; or, as the Charibees said, "shone as glass," the cabins of the inhabitants studding their sides to their very summit; the various nations of every form and different costumes, but all gayly and fantastically arrayed—nor their occupations during these assemblings, either for traffick or amusement; "the fishing in the salt lake;" the parties traversing the rocky and woody mountains in quest of quadrupeds or birds, or in collecting the natural productions of the country; the meetings for bargaining or exchanging the articles found on the spot or brought from other parts, or their feasts and entertainments, always scenes of excitement and noisy revelry.

I will only remark, that so large a body of water in the interior of Guyana, having the singular appearance of white—and like the sea, salt or saltish—the large collection of Indians which was probably around it, and the occasional gatherings there of those of surrounding regions, with the communications afforded by the different rivers, could not fail to give general celebrity to this place; so that it appears to have been known along the whole coast of Guyana, at every river where voyagers stopped, although there was no magnificent city on the borders of the White Sea, nor its mountains abounded with the precious metals.



## CHAPTER IV.

EXAMINATION OF THE RELATION OF JUAN MARTINEZ, A SPANIARD, WHO PROFESSED TO HAVE SEEN THE CITY—WHETHER GOLD ARTICLES WERE IN EARLY TIMES POSSESSED BY THE INDIANS IN THE INTERIOR OF GUYANA, AND WHENCE OBTAINED—REMARKS ON THE RELATION OF A CHARIBEE CHIEF ON THE ORONOKE, OF AN INVASION OF IT BY PERUVIANS.

THAT "a rich and magnificent city" existed on the lake, Sir Walter Raleigh, however, states that he was positively informed. "I have been assured," he observes, "by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guyana, that for its greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far excelleth any in the world, at least so much of it as is known to the Spaniards, and it is situated upon a sea of salt water."

The information on which he founds this statement was, as has been related, obtained from the Spaniards at Trinidad, especially from Admiral Don Berreo, the Governor of that island, who had, previously to him, made an expedition from New Grenada down the Oronoke in pursuit of El Dorado, which principally consisted of the relation of a certain Juan Martinez, who professed to have travelled to this city and seen it. Of this information, however, Raleigh gives no account, except of the relation of Martinez, on which he appears mainly to rely for his belief of the existence of this long-sought-for city in the heart of Guyana. An examination of it will therefore be made, to ascertain whether it justified the opinion which Berreo formed from it, and communicated to him.

The circumstances which led Martinez to discover, as he reported, this new El Dorado, are thus stated by Sir Walter Raleigh :

He belonged to the company of Diego Ordaz, who was one of those who sought El Dorado by ascending the Oronoke. He proceeded as far as the residence of the Charibee chief, with whom Raleigh made an alliance, of which he saw evidence in a large anchor of his ship lying at his port ; and while there, his whole stock of powder having been set on fire, Martinez, who had the chief charge of it, was condemned to be executed. But the soldiers favored him, and tried every means to save his life, but could light on no other mode than placing him in a canoe and suffering it to float down the river. It was carried down some distance, when it was taken up by some Indians, who, having never before seen a white person, carried him into the country to be wondered at, and went from town to town until they came to the great city of Manoa. The Emperor, after he had beheld him, caused him to be lodged in his palace and well entertained, but restrained him from travelling about the country. He was brought thither the whole way blindfolded. He lived there seven months, after

which he obtained permission of the Emperor to depart, who sent with him a number of Indians to conduct him to the Oronoke, with as much gold as they could carry. But when he arrived near the river's side, the borderers robbed him and the Indians of all the treasure they had with them, save only two large gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought. He then went down the Oronoke to Trinidad, and from thence came to the Island of Margueretta, and afterward to Porto Rico, where he died; and in his last illness gave this relation, which Barreo informed Raleigh was still to be seen in the chancery of that island, and of which he had a copy.

"It was this individual, Martinez," says Raleigh, "who first christened the city of Manoa El Dorado, which he did on the following account:

"The Guyanians are remarkably addicted to drinking, exceeding all other people; and at their festivals, when the Emperor carouseth with his captains and tributaries, those who pledge or acknowledge him have their bodies covered over with a kind of white balsam, called Curcai, and certain servants of his blow gold dust through hollow canes upon them, until they are all shining from head to foot; and thus adorned, they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue so sometimes six or seven days together. And from witnessing this, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city—the images of gold in the temples, the plates; armors, and shields of gold which they used in their wars—he called it El Dorado."

Such is the foundation on which the magnificent city in the interior of Guyana has been erected.

On an attentive examination, however, of this relation, it will be found entirely insufficient to support the splendid fabric created by Barreo and the Spaniards, and into the belief of which Raleigh was led.

Martinez gives no relation of such things as are embraced in the idea of a civilized city, still less a magnificent one—well-built edifices, streets and squares. The abundance of gold, and the various gold articles which he describes to be in it, on which I shall presently remark, may all have been there, although it consisted only of a large collection of Indians, living in habitations very similar to those now seen in Guyana; but who, like the Omaguas on the river Amazon, among whom such articles abounded, may have been somewhat more improved than the surrounding nations. But the relater calls this place El Dorado. It was Martinez, says Raleigh, who first gave to the city of Manoa this name. But it clearly appears, that he does not apply it from its possessing the accompaniments "of a rich and magnificent city," but, as he expressly states—because the Emperor and the principal men, had their bodies covered over with gold dust; the abundance of gold in the city, the images of gold in the temples; the armors, plates, and shields of gold, &c.

The term El Dorado, Gamilla, in his History of the Oronoke, states—*as I have before observed*—was first used in New Grenada and Peru, from a *similar custom related to exist in some Indian nation; and the same opinion is expressed by Humboldt.*

Reports being spread among the inhabitants of those provinces, of a King, or Priest, whose body every morning was anointed and then covered with gold dust, and, at the same time, that the country which he governed abounded in gold—the name of El Dorado, signifying in the Spanish language, “the gilded,” or, the gilded King, was applied by them to the whole region; and when their minds were inflamed by these reports, by the mere force of imagination, a city was created, in which this gilded king resided, with his palace, and other stately edifices sumptuously decorated with gold.

Martinez, in his relation, applies the term El Dorado, as has been seen, strictly as it was at first used; but Berreo, the Governor of Trinidad, prepossessed with the idea of a rich and magnificent city, which he had imbibed in New Grenada, gave this coloring to the relation, and conveyed the same impression of it to the mind of Raleigh.

That this is a correct view, and that the place called Manoa, was even then only a collection of rude Indian habitations, is confirmed by a contemporary witness. The Mariwin Inquirer, thirteen years only after the first voyage of Raleigh, gives the following relation on the subject. The ancient Indian, from the head of the Surinam, who gave him an account of the “fair and rich city of Monooan,” added, “ten days within the land, every child can tell of the riches of Monooan.” And then he gives the following description of this “fair and rich” city: “Their houses are made with many lofts and partitions in them, but not boarded, only with bars of wood, only; the lower floor is spread very smooth, and with fires hardened, as they do their pots:” merely, simple Indian cabins, only larger than ordinary. The cabins of the inhabitants east of this place, at the sources of the Essequibo, on the same Cordillera, at the present day, according to the relations I have given, are of large size. One of them, on mount Itaka, one of the Macoussie mountains, is described as forty-two feet square, by thirty-six feet high.

But, whatever were the circumstances which led Sir Walter Raleigh into the belief of the existence of a rich and splendid city in the interior of Guyana, it is manifest, that it was not a fable invented by him, as his enemies charged against him—nor, that he listened with easy credulity to the loose tales of the Indians—nor, even, that he was the first to frame this airy vision from the relation of Martinez; for the views he formed on the subject were received from Berreo, who first created the splendid fabric; and, although it may be thought that he embraced them without sufficient examination, yet it will be seen, hereafter, that some extraordinary relations were subsequently made to him, by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, calculated to give countenance to the ideas of the Spanish Governor.

In regard to the fact stated by Martinez, which led him to apply the name of El Dorado to the “city of Manoa,” that the Emperor, with his captains and tributaries at their festivals, have their bodies covered over with a white balsam, on which gold dust is blown, until they are all

shining from head to foot, &c., it will not be difficult to give entire credit to it, although the city should be no more than the collection of Indian cabins described by the Mariwin Inquirer. This journalist also states, as has been related—"that once in every third year, all the Caciques, or lords and captains, once in every third year, come seven days' journey, from Monooan, to a great drinking, which continues for the space of ten days together," &c. Feasts and entertainments are of very frequent occurrence among the Indians of Guyana, and are always scenes of excessive drinking. This is the case, particularly, with the Charibees. There is not an assembly held among them, either for business or pleasure, which is not attended with a festival. They are sometimes held by the inhabitants of a village among themselves. At others, one village invites neighboring ones, with whom they are on amicable terms. On these occasions, they array themselves in the gayest possible manner. An early writer, thus describes the appearance of some of them at these times. Besides being decorated with a profusion of gold and feathered ornaments, they painted their whole body with squares or other figures, of various colors, which were symmetrically arranged, and on these squares they attached the down of birds of different hues; so that they appeared, at some distance, as if clothed in a suit of figured satin. It would not, therefore, be surprising, if some of the Indians, on these occasions, decorated themselves with glistening metallic ores. Humboldt, in fact, states, that the Guaynaves of the Rio Caura, (a river which is supposed to rise out of lake Parima,) are accustomed to stain themselves with arnotto, and to make broad transverse stripes on the body, on which they stick spangles of silvery mica. Seen at a distance, they appear to be dressed in laced clothes.\* Rude nations in other regions, ornament themselves in the same showy manner. Mears, in his account of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound, on the N. W. coast of America, says—"Their faces are generally ornamented with a sort of red ochre. On visits of ceremony, every part of the body is daubed with it. When they go to war, black is the prevalent color, laid out in streaks on a black ground. We have sometimes seen them painted entirely white, at other times of a bright red color, *over which they strewed a shining sand.*"† But particularly applicable to the subject, is a relation of Sir Robert Duddley, who made a voyage to the island of Trinidad, the year of Raleigh's expedition. He states, that a party whom he sent to examine the Oronoke, on their return informed him, among other things, that an Indian chief, on that river, gave them some plates of gold, and told them "*of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with gold, and seemed to be gilt.*"‡

This testimony, so fully corroborative of Raleigh's statement, is unimpeachable; as, not only was the writer unconnected with him, but arrived at Trinidad the first of February, 1595; which was before Raleigh left England—who sailed from it, the sixth of that month. And how little

\* Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.* ch. xxiv.

† Mears's *voy.* to the N. W. coast of America.

‡ Hackluyt's coll. of *voy.*, 2nd vol., p. 67, quarto edit.

he was under the influence of Raleigh, his journal shows: "In the time of my boat's absence, there came to me a pinnacle of Plymouth, of which Captain Popham was chief—and if I had not lost my pinnaces, wherein I might have carried victuals, and some men, we had discovered further, the secrets of those places. Also, this captain and I stayed some six or eight days longer for Sir Walter, (who, as I surmised, had some purpose for this discovery,) to the end, that by our intelligence, and his boats, we might have done some good; but, it seems, he came not in six or eight weeks after."

A further proof of the existence of this custom among some of the nations of Guyana, is seen in certain interesting papers published at the end of this volume, (Appendix No. II.) and which furnish, also, strong evidence that an opinion was prevalent among the Spaniards, at that period, of the existence of El Dorado in the interior of Guyana, and of the abundance of gold to be found in that country.

The other circumstances related by Martinez, which contributed to induce him to apply the name El Dorado, to the city of Manoa, "the abundance of gold in the city—the images in the temples—the plates, armors and shields of gold, which they used in their wars," we can have no difficulty in believing, were seen by him in the city of Manoa.

Ornaments of gold, there is reason to believe, were in early times worn by the Guyanians. Martyn, describing some of the Indians on the coast of Paria, seen by Columbus, says: "There came innumerable people in canoes to the ships, the greater part having chains about their necks, garlands on their heads, and bracelets on their arms of gold and of pearls; and that so commonly, that our women, at plays and triumphs, have not greater plenty of stones, of glass and crystal in their garlands, crowns, girdles, and such other 'tirements; and that when some of the Spaniards went ashore, of the Indians they saw, there were few or none that had not a collar, chain, or a bracelet of gold and pearls, and many had all."\* "The Indians of Cumana," says the same writer, "also wore crowns of gold. All who could obtain them, were delighted with them." These regions, it is true, are not a part of Guyana, but contiguous to it; yet as the Indians referred to—as I have shown in my history of the Charibees—belonged to this nation, who are spread over Guyana, there can be no doubt that gold ornaments were also common in this region. The pearls were obtained only on the coast. One of the gold ornaments of the Charibees was a plate in the form of a crescent, called by them *caracolli*, worn at the ears, and a large one hanging at the breast, suspended from the neck. One was sometimes worn also at the nose, and another at the under lip.

Raleigh speaks, also, of the abundance of gold ornaments in Guyana, in another part of his narrative, in connection with the subject of El Dorado. "The Indians of Trinidad," he observes, "and the cannibals, (Charibees,) of Dominica, also the Indians of Paria, and all those other

\* Decade, I.

Indians inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria, through the province of Venezuela and in Moraca, have plates of gold from Guyana, and on the Amazon." Thevet writes, "that the people wear croissants (crescents,) of gold; for in that form the Guyanians commonly make them,"\* and that the Governor of Trinidad had, by his trade with the Indians, and his ransom of divers of them, obtained great store of gold plates, and eagles of gold, and images of men, divers birds, fishes, and other ornaments curiously wrought in gold."† These statements, although confirming his relations of Manoa, cannot be doubted, as one part of it is derived from Thevet, an historian of undoubted credit; and in another, he refers to a prominent official character, in the vicinity of that country.

And Lawrence Keymis, his successor and associate, gives a similar account, and points directly to the region of Parima, as the place from which these gold ornaments came. "From the mouth of the Corentine to the head, is ten days, where the Guyanians dwell. . . . Some images of gold, spleen stones, and others may be gotten on this coast. They get their moons (crescents,) and other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for one of their greater canoes, one piece or image of gold with three heads, and after that rate for lesser canoes.‡ The head of the Corentine is very near that of the Essequibo."

Robert Harcourt, in the account of his voyage to the Oyapoke, in 1608, observes: "As I daily conversed among the Indians, it chanced that one of them presented me with a half-moon of metal, which held somewhat more than one-third gold, and the rest copper; another also gave me a little image of the same metal, and of another I bought a spread eagle, which he obtained in Guyana, the same which he said did abound with images of gold, by them called *carrecourry*."§

And the Mariwin Inquirer, his associate, says: "The ancient Indian showed me a piece of metal, fashioned like an eagle, and I guess it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces, Troy weight. It seemed to be gold; or at least two parts gold, and one copper. I demanded, where he had that eagle; and his answer was, that he had it of his uncle who dwelt among the Weearapoyns, in the country called *Sher-rumirremary*, near the *Cassipagotos* country, where is a great store of these images. Further, he said, that at the head of *Selinama* (Surinam) and *Mariwini*, there were great store of the half-moons, which he called by the name of *unnaton*." The *Cassipagotos* were, according to Raleigh, one of the nations about lake *Cassipa* or *Parima*.

"The ancient Indian affirmeth, that within the city, at the entrance of their houses, they hung *caracoroure* on the posts, which I take to be images of gold." These were the *caracollis* or crescents of the *Charibees*.

From these passages it appears, that the images of gold seen by Martinez, at *Manea*, were probably only the gold ornaments worn by the Guy-

\* Cayley, vol. 1. p. 198.

† Cayley, vol. 2. p. 326.

‡ Cayley, vol. 1. p. 321.

§ Purchas, Book 6. chap. XVI.

anians. The caracollis were called images, because they were idolatrous emblems of the moon. Being suspended at the door-posts of the houses, is agreeable to the custom of ancient idolaters, who placed their idols at the entrance to their houses. And this circumstance suggests an important idea. These gold plates, thus hung up before the houses in Manoa, have, perhaps, originated the embellishment usually introduced in the descriptions of El Dorado—before it was entirely discarded, as imaginary and fabulous—that the roofs of its houses were covered with “*tiles of gold.*” The equivocal meaning of the term, gold plates, may have occasioned all the illusion.

The temples in which, Martinez relates, were images of gold, may be any houses, appropriated to religious purposes and do not necessarily denote remarkable structures. The words, “temples” and “Emperor,” are used by Raleigh, from ideas he had previously formed, of the “magnificence of the city of Manoa.”

But whence were obtained the gold ornaments, and other articles, found, as related by Martinez, at this place? Does native gold exist in the mountains of Parima? and did the inhabitants, themselves, manufacture it?

In regard to the first question, the following are all the facts and opinions I have been able to collect:

The Mariwin Inquirer gives the following statement, confirmatory of the relations of Raleigh: “The ancient Indian, from whom his other accounts of this region were received, told him of a mountain at the head of D’Essekebe, which is called Oraddoo, where is a great rock of white spar, which hath streams of gold in it, about the breadth of a goosequill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also, he spoke of a plain seven or eight days’ journey from the mountain, where is a great store of gold, in grains as big as the top of a man’s finger; and after the floods are fallen, they find them; which place is called Mumpara. Further, he spoke of a valley, not far distant from thence, which is called Wancoobanona, which hath the like. And he said, they gather them the space of two months, together; which are presently after the great rains which wash away the sand and gravel from the grass, and then they may perceive the gold glistening in the ground. And of this they are very charie. And the captains and priests, or pecays, do charge the Indians very strictly, yea, with punishment of the whip, that they be secret.” The mountain which is mentioned, called the Oraddoo, near the Essequibo, is probably mount Maho, south of lake Amucu; which Humboldt says, is at this day called Ucucumo, which signifies mountain of gold.

A recent visitor to the vicinity of this region, Dr. Hancock, in a communication to Mr. Martin, before mentioned, makes the following, among other remarks, in regard to the geological character of this region:

“The principal component parts of the interior mountains are granite, porphyry, and their various modifications—all denoting a primitive formation; while the exterior ranges, toward the coast, of a minor elevation,

are chiefly composed of indurated clays, with sand and gravel-stones—indicating a secondary order of formation. Veins of quartz are very common in traversing the great mass of granite, and most perspicuous along the channel of the river, in the dry season. Vast quantities of iron are met with in the mountains. . . . Some indurated clays, of great hardness, have been found mixed with sand, micas, calcareous earth, and oxyde of iron, amorphous, and full of particles of a metallic brilliancy. Substances of a metallic nature, having the appearance of ore, are also very abundantly met with in the mountains, but still more plentiful among the falls or rapids of the river. Rock crystal is also found upon several mountains of Demerara, growing, it may be said, out of beds of quartz. . . . Red agate, is found on the Rio Meu, (Maho,) opposite, and not far from, the crystal mountain.”

On the subject of the existence of gold in this region, a gentleman, whom I have before mentioned, who held an official station in Demerara, in 1765, gave me in writing, in 1820, the following statement: That he has seen gold-dust brought by the Indians from the head of the Essequibo, which was given to the Director General of the colony on that river, who sent it to Holland, where ear-rings were made of it, which were sent over to him. That the West India Company of Holland, employed a company of miners on the Essequibo in 1735, who commenced the working of a mine, for gold, on that river; but disliking its nearness to the seat of government, removed to another on the Cayouni. After making some progress in the work there, it was suspended in consequence of the mortality among the miners. The leader of the corps was Nicholas Hortsman, who, from a disagreement with the Government, fled from the colony, by ascending the Essequibo, and crossing over the country to the Brazils. (This was the individual mentioned by Humboldt, and of whose journal he had a perusal.) The working of the mine was not resumed, from the fatality of the occupation to Europeans, and the opinion of the Dutch Government, that it was more beneficial to the colony to attend to agricultural pursuits, than mining operations.

On the same subject, Humboldt makes the following remarks: “Amid the mountains of Encaramada, (which are on the Oronoke—part of the Cordillera of Parima,) we cannot help inquiring whence the gold was obtained, which Juan Martinez and Raleigh profess to have seen in the hands of the Indians. From what I have observed in that part of America, I am led to think that gold, like tin, is sometimes disseminated, in an almost imperceptible manner, in the mass itself, of granitic rocks, without being able to admit that there is a ramification and intertwining of small veins. Not long ago, the Indians of Encaramada found, in the Quebrada del Tigre, (ravine of the Tiger,) a piece of gold two lines in diameter, and appeared to have been washed along by the waters.\*

“We are not justified in denying the existence of any auriferous land in that extent of country, which stretches between the Oronoke and Ama-

\* Humboldt's *Pem. Nar.*, vol. 4. p. 490.



zon. . . . What I saw of it between two and eight degrees of latitude, and sixty-six and seventy-one of longitude, is entirely composed of granite and of gneiss, passing into micaceous and calcaceous slate. These rocks appear naked, in the lofty mountains of Parima, as well as in the plains of the Atabapo and the Cassiquari. The granite prevails there over other rocks; and though, in both continents, the granite of ancient formation is pretty generally destitute of gold, we cannot thence conclude that the granite of Parima contains no stratum of auriferous quartz. On the east of the Cassiquari, toward the sources of the Oronoke, we saw the number of these strata and these veins increase. The granite of those countries appears to belong to a more recent formation, perhaps posterior to the gneiss. . . . Now, the least ancient granite, are the least destitute of metals."

"We must not be surprised, if, since the Europeans settled themselves in these wild spots, we hear less of the plates of gold, gold dust, and amulets of gold, which could heretofore be obtained from the Charibees and other wandering nations by barter.\*"

From these facts, the existence of native gold in the region of Parima, seems not admissible of doubt, though to what extent remains very uncertain. But admitting this to be a fact, were the ornaments worn by the Indians inhabiting it, made by themselves or brought from other parts? Raleigh reports a relation of the Charibee chief, on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, in favor of the former view. This chief informed him "that the plates and images of gold worn by the Guayanians, were made by the Epuremei; and that the gold of which they were made, was not severed from the stone; but that on the lake Manoa, and in a multitude of rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, as big as small stones; and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it; and that they used a great earthen pot, with holes. And when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes; and so, with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran, and so made those plates and images."†

This minute description, none but the most prejudiced enemy of Raleigh can suppose was fabricated by him. The manner in which the Epuremei gathered the gold, is agreeable to the relation lately given from the Mariwin Inquirer. And he likewise states, that a piece of metal was shown him, which was a composition of gold and copper; and Robert Harcourt the same.

Independent of the testimony of Raleigh, it cannot be absolutely denied that some of the ornaments and other articles of gold, found at that period among the Indians of Guyana, were made by themselves. Gumilla, the historian of the Oronoke, a century since states, that the Charibees on its borders continued to wear plates of gold, manufactured by themselves. And Humboldt says, that at present, the Indians on that river ornament

\* Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.*, ch. xxiii.

† Cayley, vol. 1. p. 33.

themselves with pieces of silver or gold, which they work themselves in their own manner.\*

It is possible, however, that the greater part of these gold articles were brought from the river Amazon. Some of the tribes on that river had arrived at a higher state of improvement than existed generally in Guyana; for which there was a sufficient cause:—the communication afforded by its various tributaries which descend from the eastern side of the Andes, with the provinces of Peru, and New-Grenada. “The Incas,” observes Humboldt, “had extended their arms and arts as far as the river Yupura, or Caqueta, which is but a short distance west of the Rio Negro.” West of the Yupura, and near it, was the province of Aguas, or Omaguas, commencing three hundred and seventy leagues below the Napo, and extending along the river, and the islands in it, two hundred leagues. The river Potamayo, on the north side—the next considerable river to Yupura—falls into the Amazon, opposite this territory. This nation has been already spoken of, as more improved than the other tribes; that they cultivated cotton, and made vestments of it; wore also plates of gold, as ornaments, and had other gold articles in abundance. To what has been remarked concerning them, I add, from D’Acugna, that they were a very warlike, and at the same time, a commercial people. “Some of the cotton-stuffs they made were very fine, and wove with threads of different colors; and so neatly made, that the threads could not be distinguished, and it seemed as if the cloth was painted. These stuffs they made not only to gratify their fancy and for their own use, but to trade with their neighbors, who sought them with great avidity.” This is a very remarkable nation, for it appears, from D’Acugna, they are the only one on the Amazon who wear apparel. It is this nation, as before observed, who were probably the Omegas, reported to inhabit a country abounding in gold, where the first El Dorado was sought, and whom Urra professed to have seen.

Some further particulars regarding this nation are collected from Orellana’s voyage down the Amazon. He came to a province on the north side “called Machiparo, very populous, and bordering on another territory called Aomagua,” (the Omaguas.) He then describes a number of towns he passed after leaving Machiparo. On the third day he came to a small but handsome town, and though some opposition was made, they entered it, and found much provision in a house, with fine earthenware, as jars, pitchers, and other sorts of vessels, glazed and painted in lively colors, all which things the Indians said were to be had up in the country, besides much gold and silver. Came to several other towns—one of them was divided into several wards, with each of them a road to the river; another, from which went great roads paved with rows of trees; and another, where they found some good cotton garments and a place of worship, with weapons hanging in it, and two mitres, like those of our bishops, with several colors; afterward, to one through which was a rivulet, and in the

\* Humboldt’s *Pers. Nar.*, vol. I, p. 193.

middle a great square, where they obtained provisions. All along there were villages, and some very large towns.\*

"Eighteen leagues below this province, on the south side," observes D'Acugna, "is that of the Yorimans, a very numerous and warlike nation, who extend for sixty leagues along the river and the islands. He came to a village of theirs, which was the largest he had seen on the river. The houses were contiguous to each other, and continued so for the distance of a league. Each of the houses contained not one family, but in those which were least filled there were four or five families. As he left this place, he continually met with the villages of this nation, one after another. Two leagues below the province of the Yorimans, on the south side, is the river Cachiguara, the first Indians on which are called by the same name—all the rest are called Caciguaries, and wear great plates of gold at their ears and nostrils. Some space farther down, on the south side, are the Caripunas and Yorimans; "the most ingenious and handy craftsmen that we saw in the country. They make chairs, in the forms of beasts, with so much curiosity, and so commodiously, that none can be contrived better. They also cut a raised figure so much to the life, and so exactly, upon a coarse piece of wood, that many of our carvers might take pattern by them; and these things were made not only to gratify their fancy, or for their own use, but thereby they maintained a trade with their neighbors."†

With the fondness for travelling and intercourse with each other, which characterize the American Indians, there cannot be a doubt that the nations on the Amazon were all well acquainted with the countries around them, the rivers which passed through them, and the regions to which they led. Some of them, besides, being of a warlike and commercial character, these rivers would be sometimes traversed by them, either to conquer the territories upon them, or on trading expeditions; and the migrating disposition of the American aborigines would sometimes induce them to change their residence. The Rio Negro, the largest arm of the Amazon, could not fail to be known to the nations upon it to a great distance. A circumstance connected with it, besides its superior size and importance, would greatly contribute to give it notoriety—the communication which exists between it and the Oronoke, by the Cassiquari. There can be scarce a doubt, that this river was in early times greatly traversed; that a constant intercourse existed between the Amazon and Oronoke through it; and that probably some of the tribes on the latter moved through it from the former. An evidence of this is seen in the multitude of nations which D'Acugna relates were upon it, at the time he made his voyage.

The Rio Negro being known, the Rio Branco, its principal branch, must also, from the like motives of curiosity, conquest or traffic, have been explored and traversed to its source by some of the Indians on the Amazon; and the White Sea of Parima could not but have been known.

\* *Herrera*, vol. 5.

† D'Acugna, *ibid.*

The same causes which gave it celebrity on the coast of Guyana and on the Oronoke, would spread its fame on the Amazon by this river, whose many branches, over an extent of more than two hundred miles, rise out of it.

It would, hence, not be surprising if one or more of the warlike, commercial, and partially improved people on the Amazon, had at a very early period ascended this river to its source, and established in the region of Parima a community somewhat superior to the other tribes of Guyana, and introduced there a great portion of the gold plates and other articles of gold related to be in it, in the time of Raleigh.

Respecting "the armors and shields of gold," described by Juan Martinez, as seen by him "in the city of Manoa," we are not required to deny their existence, although the state of improvement there should be no other than that I have supposed, and as existed on the Amazon. "Shields of gold" are spoken of as having been seen among the Indians on that river soon after the discovery of it. The Brazillian savages, who brought to Peru the first account of the Omegas, (Omaguas, probably,) which led to the expedition of Orsua, said that they had shields of gold set with emeralds. They were, perhaps, only plated with gold, to render them a more defensive armor, where no other metal existed. "Armors of gold," I do not find mentioned in the voyages on the Amazon; but if shields of gold were used, it is not improbable those who had them had also breast-plates covered with gold, and other defensive armor of the same kind. Such were found at an early period after the discovery of this Continent, among some American Indians, as on the coast of Yucatan, whose inhabitants were in the same state of partial civilization as the Omaguas—who wore cotton vestments—and, like them, had gold plates and other ornaments of gold in abundance. Grivalja, who made a voyage to this coast soon after Columbus, was presented by the Cacique, relates Herrera, "with plates of gold, and some thin boards covered with gold for armor, which Grivalja put on, and had as complete a set of gold armor as if it had been of steel." He also presented him "with a head-piece, covered with thin plates of gold; breast-plates, some all gold, and others of wood covered with gold; several coverings for targets of fine gold, some all gold, and others of the bark of trees covered."\*

But on the subject of the emigration of tribes from the south to the region of Parima, we are not left entirely to conjecture. One nation near the Amazon, it is certain, was not only acquainted with the Rio Branco, but had ascended it and established itself there. D'Acugna, I have observed before, in speaking of the plates of gold he saw among the Indians on the Amazon, designates a country where he supposes they were obtained, or, at least, the gold from which they were made. "On going up the Yupura, you meet with the river Iquiari, which the Portuguese call the Golden river. It springs from the foot of a mountain hard by. Here the natives amass gold together, in prodigious quantities. They find it all

\* Herrera, Dec. 11, Book 1, ch. iv.

in spangles or grains of gold, of a good alloy, which they beat till they form those little plates, which they hang at their ears and noses. The people of this country that find this gold, trade with it among their neighbors, who are called the Mavagus."

"These people," says Condamine, "are the Manaos," and he makes on this passage, the following remarks: "The Manaos, according to P. Fritz, (a missionary, who passed over the country later than D'Acugna, and constructed a map of it,) were a warlike nation, dreaded by its neighbors. For a long time, it resisted the arms of the Portuguese; but there are now, many of them established on the Rio Negro. Some of them still make incursions in the territories of the savages, and from them the Portuguese purchase slaves. P. Fritz says expressly, in his journal, that the Manaos whom he saw, who came to traffick with the Indians on the borders of the Oronoke, obtained their gold from the Iquiari, and lived on the borders of a river named Yurubesh. By making inquiries, I learned that in ascending the Yupura five days, you come to a lake on the right hand, which is crossed in a day, called Marahi, or Parahi, which, in the Brazillian language, signifies water of the river; and that thence, drawing the canoe over those parts which are bare, but are inundated during the floods, you enter into a river called the Yurubesh, by which you descend in five days to the Rio Negro, which some days higher receives the Quiquiari, which has many falls, and comes from a country of mountains and mines. Can it be doubted, that these are the Yurubesh and Iquiari? and that the former rises in a lake in the interior? In the map of P. Fritz is placed a large village of Manaos, in the same district. I could obtain no positive intelligence of it, which is not extraordinary, as the nation of Manaos have been transplanted and dispersed. But it appears very probable, from this capital of the Manaos, has been fabricated the city of Manoa. P. Fritz writes the name Manaves. The French translator of D'Acugna disfigures this name, by writing Mavagus. The Portuguese write it at present, Manaos and Manaus."

This idea of Condamine, of the origin of the name Manao, in reference to a place in this region also, explains it as applied by Sir Walter Raleigh, to a supposed city on lake Parima. The Manaos or Mahanaos are, also, one of the tribes at present about that lake. Their name is in the list of nations in this locality, which I received in the interview I had with the Charibee chief of the Essequibo; and the Macoussie Indian, who also gave me an account of that lake, said Mahanaos and Ackoways live about it. M. De G——, of Demerara, protector of the Indians on the Essequibo, a gentleman of the first respectability in that colony, and a long resident in it, stated also, this fact to me, without any reference to the present subject, "*and that they were once a powerful nation, and caused much dread.*" La Cruz, in his map, places them about the east branch of the Essequibo, and writes the name Majanaos, or Manaos.

That these Mahanaos are the same nation with those on the Rio Negro, there can be no doubt. The latter were aware of the communi-

ocation afforded by the Rio Branco, with Dutch, now British Guyana. Southey, in his 'History of Brazil,' observes: "The remotest establishment on the Rio Negro, is S. Jose des Marybatanes, on the right bank, four hundred and eighty-five leagues from the city of Para, and nine leagues below the mouth of the Cassiquiari, which unites it with the Rio Negro. Between S. Jose and Lumaloga, a distance of about one hundred and twelve leagues, there were about seventeen settlements. Lumaloga stands upon the right bank. The inhabitants are a mixed race of Manaoes, Bares, and Banibas. A little above it, the river Hijaa disembogues, which is remarkable for having been the head-quarters of a Manao chief, by name Ajuricaba, formidable in his day, and still famous in these parts. The Manaoes were the most numerous tribe upon the Rio Negro. . . . . Ajuricaba was one of the most powerful Caciques of this powerful nation, about the year 1720, and made an alliance with the Dutch of the Essequibo, with whom he traded by the way of the Rio Branco. The trade, on his part, consisted in slaves. In order to obtain them, he hoisted the Dutch flag, scoured the Rio Negro, and captured all the Indians on whom he could lay hands.\*

It appears, from another writer, that the inhabitants on the Rio Negro had, at a much earlier period, a knowledge of this internal communication. Thirty leagues before you come to this river, observes D'Acugna, in 1639, is the river Basurura, which enters the Amazon on the north side. It extends a great distance into the country and forms several great lakes, so that the country is divided into divers large islands, which are peopled with an infinite number of inhabitants, who are called Carabuyavas—among some of whom we saw iron tools and weapons, such as hatchets, halberds, bills and knives; and on asking by his interpreters whence they had them, they replied, that they bought them of the people of the country who dwell nearest the sea, on that side; who were white men like us, used the same arms, swords and guns, and had houses upon the sea-coast, and had light hair; which was sufficient to satisfy us they were the Dutch, who, in 1638, invaded Guyana, and made themselves masters of it. How this intercourse was carried on, he learned when he came to the Rio Negro; for he was informed there that it had a large arm, which came near another great river which empties into the sea at the north, where the Dutch have their settlements; which arm was, no doubt, the Rio Branco. He supposes the great river which it approaches, to be the river Phillipe, or Smooth river, which empties into the North Cape; for he is certain it could not be the Oronoke, which is too far north. Of the Essequibo, he appears to have been entirely ignorant—and it was on this river that the first settlements of the Dutch in Guyana were made.†

These facts furnish a satisfactory explanation of this rumored city of Manoa on lake Parima, to which Juan Martinez, and after him Raleigh, applied the name of El Dorado; and renders that which the Maritima

\* Hist. of Brazil, vol. 3. pp. 710, 711.

† D'Acugna, ch. lxiiv and lxxv.

Inquirer states the ancient Indian from the head of Surinam gave it, *Parroowa Parrocara Monoan*, properly translated, White Sea of the Manaos, or Manoaas. I have seen the name Mahanaos in a list of Indian nations of Guyana, written Mahanoas, with the vowels reversed. It is contracted, as that of the Charibee chief, Mahanerwa, is commonly pronounced Manerwa.

This powerful nation, making its conquests in every direction, there can be no doubt, from what has been stated, ascended the Rio Branco, and established itself in the mountains of Parima, in the midst of which lies this lake, and formed there a large settlement, or community, which bore its name, and where it introduced an abundance of ornaments and other articles of gold. And as it probably kept up a constant communication with its primitive abode, there must have been a constant influx of them into this region, from which they were spread over Guyana. Condamine states that P. Fritz relates, that in 1687, he saw arrive eight or ten canoes of the Manaos, who, from their habitations on the banks of the Yurubesh, availed themselves of the inundations to trade with his Catechumens on the north bank of the Amazon; that they were accustomed to carry, among other things, small plates of beaten gold, which they received in exchange from the Indians of the Iquiari. The European colonist, residing on the Essequibo, mentioned at page 37, related to me, that in 1788, he witnessed on the Rippununi the last battle fought between the Charibees and Cannibals, by which he meant the Mahanaos, as they are so called by the Charibees, who have themselves been similarly characterized, but unjustly, by Europeans. The Mahanaos must, even then, have been a considerable nation; for it appears they were able to resist this powerful and most courageous tribe, who, although they have subjugated all the others at the sources of the Essequibo, and hold there a predominant sway, have not advanced west of the Rippununi.

The view which I have thus given, of the origin of the name of the city of Manoa, in the narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh, is different from that entertained by Humboldt. He remarks, there is no doubt that the whole region from the Caqueta, or Yupura, where Condamine places the Mahanaos, to the Cordillera of Parima, was, at first, generally denominated the golden country, or the Dorado, though the expeditions were directed to two points; the space between the Caqueta and the Rio Negro, which he terms the Dorado of the Omaguas, and that between the Essequibo and the Oronoke, which he calls the Dorado of Parima; but he denies that the idea of Manoa, or the rich city, and the gilded king, was ever applied to the latter—that the information Raleigh received of Manoa, had reference to the former; and that the whole narrative of Martinez is a pure fiction. “I believe,” he says, “I can demonstrate, that the fable of Juan Martinez, spread abroad by the narrative of Raleigh, was founded on the adventure of Juan Martinez de Albuja, well known to the Spanish historians of the Conquest, and who, in the expedition of Pedro de Sylva, fell

into the hands of the Charibees of the lower Oronoke. . . . After having wandered among the Charibees, the desire of rejoining the whites led him by the Essequibo to the island of Trinidad. . . . I know not whether he died at Porto Rico; but it cannot be doubted, that it was he who learned from the Charibee traders, the name of the Manaos of Urubesh," (Uarabaxa, a branch of the Rio Negro, the original seat of this nation).

The Juan Martinez of Raleigh, may have been the individual Albujar; but there is nothing which prevents the belief, that Albujar himself travelled to the place he describes, and gives an account of what he saw. The idea of Humboldt, that the author of the relation attributed by Raleigh to Martinez, was never there, and that the relation is purely fictitious, founded on reports of the Manaos of Yurubesh, and consequently either invented or imagined by Raleigh, or Berreo; is evidently derived from an opinion he had previously adopted, that no such place exists in Guyana. But, in opposition to it, I have already shown, that Juan Martinez is not the only person who, at that time, spoke of a place called Manoa, situated upon a lake in the interior of Guyana—that it was heard of, by several voyagers on the coast—by Keymis, at the Oronoke, Essequibo and Oyapoke rivers—by Berrie, on the Corentine—and by the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Robert Harcourt, in the most distinct manner, from an Indian from the head of the Surinam. Humboldt, himself, also observes, when he had arrived at Esmeralda, the last post on the Oronoke, which is west of the site of this supposed city, nearly in the same latitude, "so near the sources of the Oronoke, we heard of nothing in these mountains but the proximity of El Dorado—the lake Parima, and the ruins of the great city of Manoa."\* Further, De Pons, in his map of Venezuela, &c., before mentioned, published in 1805, prepared from observations made by him, during a four years' residence in the Spanish territories, places upon the east side of his lake Parima, which figures conspicuously upon it, "Manoa, the supposed capital of Dorado:" designated by a mark. Such are the ideas entertained at so late a period, in Venezuela and Spanish Guyana, on this subject. But it will be hereafter shown, that, in 1775, an Intendant of Angustura was induced, by the representations of an Indian, to send an expedition expressly to discover this rich and splendid city in the interior of Guyana.

In this region, too, it was thought to exist by the French, after they had formed their colony of Cayenne. In 1674, was published a work, by two missionaries, entitled, "Journal of the Travels of John Grillet and Francis Bechemel, into Guyana, in order to discover the great lake of Parima, and the many cities said to be situated on its banks, and reputed the richest in the world."

I am inclined, indeed, to think, that the name of Manoa was principally applied to a city or place on lake Parima. While it is often mentioned by visitors to the coast of Guyana, neither Orellana, nor D'Acugna—who made their voyage down the Amazon, before Condamine—heard

\* Humboldt's Pers. Narr., ch. xxiv.



it on this river, which could not fail to have reached their ears, if a place called by this name was situated in this region. D'Acugna, indeed, supposes the space between the Yurubesh and the Iquiari, to be the site of the golden country and lake; but he does not speak of the city of Manoa, or mention, at all, this name. Condamine was the first that connects it with this region, which he does, as the Mahanaos residing there explain the origin of the name;—but he seems to take it entirely from Raleigh's narrative; for, to this place, also, he transfers the lake Parima,—of which he knew nothing. "It is no other," he says, "than the little lake Mari-hi, or Para-hi, which communicates with the Yupura, a word which might easily have been changed into Parima"—an idea having as little foundation as that of an English writer, who thinks that the lake in Guyana took its name from Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who obtained the first grant of Surinam, and that he also gave his name to Paramaribo, (that fine sounding Indian word,) the capital of that colony.

The name may, however, have been applied by the Indians to both places, in consequence of the Mahanaos being the principal nation in each; but this is immaterial to my purpose, which is only to explain the origin of it, as designating a city in the interior of Guyana, and the relations made concerning it.

Connected with the account which Sir Walter Raleigh has given of the rich and magnificent city of Manoa, or El Dorado, which he received from the Governor of Trinidad and other Spaniards, he relates other circumstances concerning it, communicated to him by the Charibee chief on the Oronoke, with whom he made an alliance, which contributed not less, in the minds of some, to give interest to his narrative, while it furnished further materials to his enemies to represent him as a weak dupe of his credulity, or a dishonest fabricator of romantic tales, to impose on that of the public.

The relation of the Charibee chief he thus gives:

After acquainting him with the object of his visit to the Oronoque, and making inquiries of him respecting Guyana, its extent, and the nations inhabiting it, the chief answered: "That all his people, with all those down the river toward the sea, as far as Emeria, (the last province,) were of Guyana, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight, called Wacaraima, were of the same cast and appellation, and that on the other side of those mountains was a valley, called the valley of Amariocapana. In all that valley the people were of the ancient Guyanians; and that, in regard to the nations on the other side of the mountains, beyond the valley, he said that he remembered in his father's lifetime—when he was very old, and himself a young man—that there came down in that large valley of Guyana a nation, from so far off as the sun slept; with so great a multitude, as they could not be numbered nor resisted; that they wore large coats and hats of crimson color, and were called Oreiones and Epuremei, and who slew and rooted out the ancient people, who were very numerous, except two—the Iwaraqueri and the

Cassipagotos; that they had built a great town, called Macureguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guyana, which have no end; and that their houses have many rooms, one over another; and that therein their great King kept three thousand men, to defend the borders against them, and withall daily to invade and slay them. But that of late years, since the Christians threatened to invade his territories and theirs, they were all at peace, and traded with one another, except the Iwaraqueri and the Cassipagotos.\* He told me further, that four days' journey from his town was Macureguarai, and that they were the nearest of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold, which were scattered among the borderers, and carried to other nations, far and near, were from there, and were there made; but that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes."†

This relation of the Charibee chief possesses great interest, from the names by which the invaders of Guyana are called; "the Oreiones and Epuremei;" for the Oreiones were the lords and nobles of Peru, and must therefore refer to an invasion of Peruvians. The "large coats and red hats of crimson color," which they wore, are besides not applicable to any savage and uncivilized nation, and more appropriate to the inhabitants of Peru than to any other people of South America. Sir Walter Raleigh, not doubting of this, immediately connects it with the flight of one of the Incas into Guyana, and supposes that it occasioned a highly improved state of society in it. "Because," he observes, "there may arise some doubt how this empire of Guyana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the Emperor now reigning, is descended from the magnificent princes of Peru. For, when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son of Guaynacapa, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many soldiers of the empire, called Oreiones, and, with them and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great river Amazon and the Oronoke."‡ In this description it is proper to distinguish the fact, stated by Raleigh, of the invasion of Guyana by one of the Incas, from the conclusion he draws from it. The former was a reasonable inference from the narrative of the Indian chief. If an invasion of Guyana was made by the Oreiones, or nobles of Peru, it is probable that it was conducted by one of the Incas. Such a large emigration could not have been produced but through the influence and under the guidance of some eminent chief; and who would more probably lead them than one of the Incas, who were immediately over them? In regard to the improvement which he supposes to have been, in consequence, produced in Guyana, he has given scope to his

\* Cayley, vol. 1, p. 179.

† Cayley, vol. 1. pp. 229-240.

‡ Cayley, vol. 1. p. 254.

imagination, filled with ideas of the rich cities of Peru, and pictured a state of things as necessarily arising from such emigration, of which he had no evidence; and whether it existed or not, could only be known when the deep forests of Guyana had been penetrated and explored:—but in forming such a picture, some allowance should be made to him, as his mind had already been prepared to fall into this delusion, by the impressions he received from Berreo, and the relation of Juan Martinez. But, however conjectural his idea was, it is entirely distinct from the position he assumes, and on which he founds it—the emigration of one of the Incas into Guyana.

It is remarkable, that intimations are given by several writers, of *apparelled* Indians in the interior of Guyana. Thus, Keymis says, he was informed, on the Oronoke, “that a nation of *clothed* people, called Cassanari, dwell not far from where the river takes its name; and that far within they border upon a sea of salt water, called Parima:” which is the region I am examining—the site of Manoa. Thomas Masham, who wrote the account of the third expedition made by Raleigh, remarks: “The people in all the lower parts of the country go naked, both men and women, &c. In the upper country they are apparelled; being, as it were, of a more civil disposition (more civilized,) having great store of gold; as we are certainly informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had some gold, which they bought and brought in the high country of Wiana:” (Guyana.)

A much later writer has given a confirmation of these statements. Hartsinck, the Dutch historian of Guyana, remarks: “The borders of lake Parima are inhabited by numerous nations; some are clothed, and do not suffer strangers to come thither. In the year 1755, upon the relations of a certain Indian chief, the Spaniards made three successive expeditions into the interior, to reach lake Parima; but were so much opposed by the Indians, and in the last especially, that they never desired to undertake it again, though they brought with them four prisoners of the clothed nation, which Mr. Persick, of the council of justice of Essequibo, and other traders, saw.” To this I add, that M. De G——, protector of the Indians on the Essequibo, gave me, in 1820, the following statement: “Lake Parima is inhabited by several nations, and among them is a very remarkable one, who wear clothes, and shun all intercourse with other Indians. This he heard from several Indians.”

Of the Guaypanabis, on the upper Oronoke, Humboldt remarks, “they are more industrious, he might almost say more civilized, than the other Indians of that region; and that the missionaries relate, that in the time of their sway they were pretty generally clothed, and had considerable villages.

Respecting the plates of gold, which the Oreiones and Epuremei are said to have possessed, no remarks are necessary, after what has been observed on the same subject, in the examination made of the relation of Martinez.

And before Sir Walter Raleigh is heavily censured, for his belief of what Hume calls his "chimerical flight of the Incas," it will be proper to attend to the remarks of some writers on this subject.

It appears, from Humboldt, to be a fact, that Manco Inca, brother of Atahualpa, who was slain by the Spaniards, after this event fled; which, says he, gave rise to the idea of the empire of the Incas in Dorado. (It is to him that Raleigh refers, when he says: For when Pizarro, and others, &c., had conquered Peru, and put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, &c.) "Manco Inca," says Humboldt, "acknowledged as the legitimate successor of Atahualpa, made war, without success, against the Spaniards. He retired, at length, into the mountains and thick forests of Vilcabamba. Of his two sons, the eldest, Sayri-Tupac, surrendered himself to the Spaniards, upon the invitation of the Viceroy of Peru. He was received with great pomp at Lima; was baptized there, and died peaceably in the fine valley of Yucay. The youngest son, Tupac Amaru, was carried off by stratagem from the forests of Vilcabamba, and beheaded on pretext of a conspiracy formed against the Spanish usurpers. At the same period, thirty-five distant relations of the Inca Atahualpa, were seized and conveyed to Lima, in order to remain under the inspection of the Audiencia, (Garcillasso, vol. 2, pp. 194, 480, 501.) It is interesting to inquire, whether any other princes of the family of Manco Capac have remained in the forests of Vilcabamba, and if there still exist any descendants of the Incas of Peru. This supposition gave rise, in 1741, to the famous rebellion of the Chuncoas, and to that of the Awayos and Campos, led on by their chief, Juan Santos, called the false Atahualpa."

Southey, who in his history of Brazil treats the whole account of El Dorado as entirely imaginary, originating from reports spread in New Grenada of the wealth of Peru; and there, of that of New Grenada, observes, that in support of the reality of Dorado, "it was said, in the Spanish provinces, that a younger brother of Atabalipa had fled after the destruction of the Incas, and founded in the region, where the golden city was supposed to be, a greater empire than that of which his family had been deprived."

A more recent writer than either of the above, Compagnoni, an Italian author, has taken a view of this subject, which places the narrative of Raleigh in a still more favorable light. The work I have not seen; and my knowledge of it is derived from the *North American Review*, 1828, No. lx., which observes upon it: "In these volumes there is an investigation of the far-famed El Dorado. The circumstances collected by Compagnoni, certainly tend to show, that the existence of some offset of the Incas, within the interior of the continent, is neither so impossible nor so improbable as generally supposed. The traditions among the Peruvians have been constant, that a body of their countrymen, led by some

\* \* The title of the work is "*Storia del America, Opera Originale Italiana in Continuazione del Compendio della Universelle, del Signor Comte de Segur, by Compagnoni.*"

of the surviving Incas, fled beyond the mountains, into regions not yet explored."

On this subject there is a most extraordinary passage in the Journal of the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Robert Harcourt, who made a voyage to the Oyapoke, in 1608—to whom I have several times referred. I have observed that he states, the ancient Indian, from the head of the Surinam, called lake Parima, *Parroowan Parrocure Monoan*, signifying White Sea of the Manóas. And that "*the chief Captain*, or as he called him, Acariwanora, there, was *Pepodallapa*." I do not hesitate to acknowledge the surprise with which I met with this name—for, can there be a doubt that it was meant for Atabalipa, the name of the Inca slain by the Spaniards, and which may have been taken by the representative of the family, as was the case in Peru in later times?

The chief of Manóas appears to have possessed great power and influence; for the Inquirer relates, once in every third year, all the Caciques, lords, and captains—some seven days' journey—do come to a great drinking, &c.; which might be considered a regular homage, or acknowledgment made to him.

A circumstance that gives weight to this relation of the Mariwin Inquirer, is, that he appears unconscious of the meaning of the name of the chief; and is therefore free from the suspicion of having introduced it to favor Raleigh; if, indeed, other circumstances did not protect him from it.

These remarks are perhaps all that, consistent with the plan of this volume, founded entirely upon well-authenticated facts, it is proper to make; and I might leave to the reader, to form his own opinion on the subject. Should the reality of the flight of one of the branches of the Incas, into Guyana, ever be fully established, an ample field for reflections will then be presented, far exceeding in interest any other passage in the history of the aboriginal nations of America. I cannot, however, but observe, that this event does not appear to be wholly beyond the bounds of probability. Other instances have occurred in South America, of nations whom the consternation excited by the invasion and conquest of their territories by Europeans, and the hatred the injuries they received from them occasioned, induced to abandon, entirely, their territories, and remove to some distant region. When D'Acugna made his voyage down the Amazon, he found the Tupinambas, a numerous, warlike and ingenious people, inhabiting an island sixty leagues in length, a few leagues below the Rio Negro. But this had not been long their abode. They were one of the most important nations of Brazil, extending over a vast country, in which they had eighty-two villages; but when the Portuguese established themselves at Rio Janiero, rather than submit to their yoke, they withdrew in a body, leaving not a single individual in any of their villages. They made a long journey on the east side of the Andes, crossing all the rivers that descend from it into the Amazon; and at length came to the island which they then inhabited.

Another instance, is that of the Omaguas, on the river Amazon, already mentioned—a numerous and warlike nation, and also more improved and civilized than any other on that river. They came, according to D'Acugna, from the province of Quixos, near Quito ; but how long they had been on the Amazon, is not stated. Not all, however, removed ; and those that remained when the Spaniards arrived, made peace with them ; but wearied, at last, with the ill-treatment they received, they descended one of the streams which flow into the Amazon, and joined themselves to their kinsmen on that river. When D'Acugna wrote, there were some of this nation at the head of the Potamayo, which rises near Pasto, and who also were the last on the Yotan, a southern tributary of the Amazon, which has its source near Cusco. From a circumstance related by Southey, in his 'History of Brazil,' the dread and dislike of the Spaniards which the retreating Omaguas possessed, and which they infused into their countrymen, must have been very great. "It is surprising," observes the historian, "that Orellana, in his voyage down the Amazon, makes no mention of this nation ; but the Omaguas of Quito explain the circumstance : they relate, that they were there when he came ; but as he approached, they retired, and part went up the Rio Negro ;" although Orellana appeared with only a single vessel, and a small party, and came with no intention to molest the natives.

If such were the dread and aversion which the European conquerors inspired in these nations, how intense must have been their operation in the minds of the family of the Incas, who ruled over, not a single tribe, but an extensive, and flourishing empire, filled with rich cities, containing edifices splendidly decorated with gold and silver ; and a people whom they found wild and savage, without cultivation, arts, or comfortable abodes, and by their wise and benignant sway, had elevated to their present happy and prosperous condition ; by whom they were in consequence not only beloved, but, connected with the mysterious manner in which the founder of their race appeared among them, revered as of celestial origin—Children of the Sun, the deity whom they worshipped. It was a sovereign race, possessed of such extensive power and authority, and so adored and revered by its subjects, that saw its empire overturned ; its seats of magnificence plundered ; its splendid temples, after being stripped of their costly decorations, demolished ; and after many grievances and humiliations suffered by them, their reigning prince, Atabalipa, put to death.

How great was their mortification at these disastrous, and overwhelming events, to themselves and nation, it is difficult for us to conceive. What the effect of them was upon the Peruvians, historians furnish some evidence. Such was the distress among them, says Herrera, when the tidings of his death was spread abroad, that many men and women killed themselves, to attend him in the other world. And the grief and regret they experienced, has been transmitted to their descendants to the latest times. The Indians of Peru, says a historian, in 1749,

have not forgotten the love they bore their native Kings. In most of the great towns in the interior, they revive the memory of the death of Atabalipa, annually, on a certain day, by a sort of tragedy; in which they clothe themselves in their ancient manner, and wear images of the sun and moon, with other symbols of their idolatry. At these festivals they indulge in excessive drinking, and use in every mode their liberty. Endeavors have been made by the Spaniards to suppress these solemnities, and they have of late years debarred them the use of the stage in which they represented the death of the Inca.\* An English traveller, much later (in 1825) remarks: "That some of the Peruvians living at a distance from the capital, and who are more immediately descended from the last Inca, still continue to mourn for him, is a fact well known; and the mournful songs, or yarrabies, which lament that unhappy transaction, are chanted at this hour."† Under the feelings which the remaining branches of the royal family would possess, after the disastrous events which befell them, it would not be surprising if they resolved to remove to some other region, not only from apprehension of meeting the fate of Atabalipa, but from the great aversion produced in their minds to their conquerors. But on this subject we are not left to supposition. It appears from the extract I have made from Humboldt, that it is admitted that they fled across the Andes; and in a Spanish work I have met with, I have found this fact not only confirmed, but the region mentioned, to which they removed. "All the Indians," says the author, "who are on the river Aprumack, one of the streams which form the Ucayal, one of the largest tributaries of the Amazon, and rises in the mountains around Cusco, are descendants of the army of forty thousand who fled with MANCO INCA, brother of Atahualpa."‡

Although there is no historical account of the progress of the family of the Incas, or of any of them, down the Ucayal, this event does not appear wholly improbable. It can scarcely be believed, that they would be content to remain perpetually in a degraded state, in a corner of their former empire; nor that the regrets and complaints of their subjects, would not be too painful for them to support. We may reasonably suppose, that after their spirits had, in a degree, recovered from the effects of their humiliating overthrow, some one among them would embrace the project of endeavoring to restore their empire, in some region unknown to their conquerors; and he would naturally seek it by descending this river, which flows into the Amazon; and would in such case, with a certainty, be attended by a number of Peruvians; and particularly the Orsiones, or nobles, who were immediately about the royal family. A knowledge of the Amazon and the regions upon it, was possessed by the Incas, who, according to Humboldt, had extended their arts and arms as far as the Yupura; which is beyond the province of the Omaguas. But the inhabitants in the interior of Peru, could not fail, without this circum-

\* Relation of the earthquake at Lima.

† Travels of G. Calocleugh to South America,

‡ El Marañon y Amazona, Historia, Dehes, Descubrimientos—Madrid, 1694.

stance, to obtain this information; as the various streams that flow into the Amazon, on the north and south side, descend from the Cordillera of the Andes, and particularly those on the Ucayal, which, rising near Cusco, were probably greatly traversed. On Orellana's passage down the Napo, which enters it on the north side, nearly opposite to the Ucayal, he was informed by a Cacique in the province of Coca—several hundred leagues from its mouth—of a wealthy lord, on another river, who abounded in gold, and who could be no other, than the chief of the Omaguas, who were three hundred and seventy leagues below the Napo. This large settlement of a partially civilized people, wearing apparel, having many gold articles among them—and of Peruvian origin, on the Amazon, would greatly encourage an enterprising leader in the family of the Incas to descend the Ucayal into this great stream, and follow it, to seek on its borders, or their vicinity, a region in which to establish himself and plant the germ of another empire. The Rio Negro—which flows into this river one hundred and twenty leagues only below this province, and rises also from the Andes—by the intelligence the Incas had, while their reign lasted, of the remote provinces of their empire and the countries adjacent, was, unquestionably, also known to them. Its great importance, and the many nations upon it, were sufficient, also, to spread extensively the knowledge of it: and there appears to have been a communication through the inhabitants upon it, from its mouth to its source: "We were assured," says D'Acugna, on the Amazon, "that this river was inhabited by a great number of people, of different nations; the last of which wear clothes and hats like ours—which sufficiently convinced us, that these people were not far from the cities of Peru."\* There was a particular circumstance, moreover, belonging to it, calculated to give it general notoriety; the communication existing between it and the Oronoke, by the Cassiquiri. It was, probably, formerly a great channel of emigration from the west, down the stream, or southwardly, from the Amazon to the borders of the Oronoke. Several of the branches of the Saliva nation—who are mild and tranquil tribes, the most numerous nation on that river, after the Charibees—appear to have come from the Peruvian territories. "The most ancient abode of this nation," says Humboldt, "appears to have been on the western bank of the Oronoke, between the Rio Vichada and the Guaviari; also, between the Meta and the Rio Paute."† That of the Mapoyes, one of the branches of this nation, was on the banks of the Assiveru, or Cuchivero. He often heard them mentioned above the mouth of the Meta.‡ The Maypures, another branch of this nation, according to Balbi, (Ethno-graphical Atlas,) speak a language incontestably similar to that of the Moxos of Peru. The Atorays, who now inhabit the region of Parima, and who, I have observed, are probably the same with the Atures of the Oronoke, have also some words in their language like those of the Moxos, and also the Quichua, which is the general language of Peru. The *Arrowacks*, who are spread along the coast of Guyana, are, I believe, allied

\* D'Acugna, ch. lxxv.

† Humboldt's Pers. Nar., ch. xix.

‡ Humboldt's Pers. Nar., ch. lx.



to the Saliva nation; as their language has some words resembling the Atoray and Maypure, and likewise the Moxos and Quichua.

These affinities are shown in the table, Appendix No. VI.

The period when the invasion of Guyana was made by the Oreiones and Epuremei, as related by the Charibee chief, corresponds with the time when the Spaniards were making their conquests in Peru, and overturned the empire of the Incas; as his relation was made to Raleigh in 1595, when he was in a very advanced age; and he states that the invasion of the Oreiones occurred when he was a young man. And the hatred of the Spaniards, excited in the minds of the Peruvians by the conquest of their empire and the execution of Atabalipa, must have been greatly increased by the persecution the whole of the royal family received;—as Humboldt, it has been seen, states, that after it, thirty-five of his distant relations were seized and conveyed to Lima.

Southey, it has been observed, states, that a circumstance which encouraged the idea of El Dorado in the minds of the Spaniards, was an opinion among them that one of the Incas had fled to some other country, where he had again built a city, and undertook to revive their empire; and Compagnoni remarks, that it was a general impression among them that he had fled to some region wholly unknown to them. This unknown region could refer to no part of Peru, or the northern or western part of New-Grenada, but only to the southeastern portion of the latter province, in which El Dorado was first sought, or to Guyana; both which regions were unexplored. The country could not be any part of Brazil, for there was no passage into it by any of the southern tributaries of the Amazon west of the Rio Negro, all which descend from the Andes of Peru; and whatever branch of the family of the Incas was on this expedition in search of a retreat, his attention would not fail to be arrested by this river, from the information he received from the tribes on the Amazon, in its vicinity, though he had not directed his course to it. He would also be informed of its principal branch—the Rio Branco—and of the region of Parima and the White Sea, to which it led, which, as I have remarked, had probably acquired as great celebrity on the Amazon as in other directions; and, in determining to ascend the Rio Negro, he might prefer the deep forests of the interior of Guyana for an asylum, as a region where he would be less liable to be invaded by the conquerors of his empire, to the borders of the Oronoke, which were easily accessible from the sea, or by its western tributaries that flow from the mountains of New-Grenada, where the Spaniards were then, as in Peru, pursuing their conquests.

In addition to the information which he might have acquired among the inhabitants generally of the Amazon, regarding the region of Parima, the Omaguas, if they were on this river at that time, would have furnished him with a particular account of it; and if they had been previously dispersed, and part retired up the Rio Negro, this last circumstance would strongly incline him to pursue the same route. And as he advanced farther, the Manoas of the Yurubesh, still nearer the Rio Negro—part of

bly gave rise to the name of Manoa, as of a city there, and kept up a constant intercourse between their two establishments—would determine all his doubts as to the place of his refuge, and might be willing to conduct him thither. It is possible, indeed, that this expedition, if it took place, led to the invasion and conquest of the region of Parima by the Manaos. If the relation of the Mariwin Inquirer is to be credited, “that the chief captain, or Aqueriwanora, of Manoa, was Pepodallapa, and if this name was meant for Atabalipa, there would seem to be a connection between the Manaos and a branch of the family of the Incas. Perhaps the royal exile may have been willing to accept the aid of this powerful and warlike nation, to conquer from the Guyanians the region from which the Branco flows, and establish himself in the bosom of its mountains, where he would believe himself in perfect security from the invaders of his empire; protected not only by its remoteness and obscurity, but by their superior bravery; while they, from respect to an ancient and venerated race, whose misfortunes could not but have been heard of by all the tribes of the Amazon—and as they astonished, excited universal sympathy and regret—would readily become their conductors to it; and the conquest achieved, feel proud to acknowledge themselves his subjects.

We may indulge the hope, that the veil of obscurity which is over this region will ere long be removed;—that some scientific and enterprising traveller will undertake to pass over the *terra incognita* which lies between the Essequibo and the Oronoke, and disclose the history of the tribes now inhabiting it: in particular, who are the clothed Indians who avoid all intercourse with others, reported to be there in 1755, who are probably still there; as three nations described a century since by a traveller as residing in this region, are yet in the same place, and as the account of this clothed nation was confirmed to me in 1820;—a journey which would be also greatly beneficial to geography, and by the investigation of the various productions of this region, not only gratify the curiosity of the naturalist, but, without doubt, bring to light many which would be useful to the world.

## CHAPTER V.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S REPORTS OF THE MINERAL RICHES OF GUYANA, EXAMINED. OPINIONS OF HUMBOLDT ON THE SUBJECT. DIFFICULTIES IN WHICH RALEIGH BECAME INVOLVED AT HOME, WHICH SUSPENDED HIS EXPEDITIONS TO GUYANA. HIS TRIAL AND LONG IMPRISONMENT.

BESIDES the account which Sir Walter Raleigh gave of the city of Manoa, "and the civil and apparelled people" who invaded Guyana, and established themselves in it, he incurred great censure and ridicule from his enemies at that time, and has received the explicit condemnation of some historians from representations made by him of the existence of gold in it, and in general, its rich mineral treasures. But that specimens of gold were found by him he afforded the most convincing proofs, by bringing some of the ore with him to England, which he presented to the lord high Admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, of the privy council, as he states in the preface of the Narrative of his voyage, which he addressed to them.

His enemies were not, however, silenced by this evidence. They endeavored to negative it, and prove him a gross deceiver. It was reported that the ore had been ascertained not to be gold; others asked, if the metal had been found, why he did not bring home a greater quantity of it; others again, said it was not obtained in Guyana, but brought by him from Africa.

To all these charges, he fully replies in his preface. "It is true," he observes, "that on being informed by an Indian, that not far from the port where he anchored, there were found certain mineral stones which they considered gold, he sent a party of his men there with orders for each to bring him a specimen, but which when brought he found was marcasite, and of no value; but some of them, trusting more to their ideas than his opinion, kept them, and showed them in several places. In Guyana, indeed," he says, "all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plain, in woods, and by the rivers, are thorough shining, and marvellous rich, and are the true signs of minerals, but are no other than what the Spaniards call *el madre del oro*, (the mother of gold,) of several sorts of which his company brought also to England. But he was assured that gold was to be found either in grains separate from the stone, as it is in most of the rivers of Guyana, or else in a kind of stone which they called white spar. . . . Near one of the rivers he found a great ledge or bank of this white spar, which he endeavored to open, as there appeared on the surface some small grains of gold. But not having any means for the purpose, seeking around the sides, he found a cleft in the rock, from which, with dig-

gers and the head of an axe, he obtained small quantities of the metal, which he brought to England. Of this several trials were made in London, and it was found to contain gold." (He mentions the names of the persons by whom the assays were made; some of them belonging to the mint; and thus, publicly appeals to their testimony.) "Trials were also made by the same persons, at that time, on the dust of this mine, which held eight pounds six ounces weight of gold in the hundred. But, says he, because his men brought other specimens," (which were, perhaps, those referred to,) "all the others have been slandered, and his whole enterprise defamed."

In reply to the question, why he did not bring home a greater quantity? observing, first, that he was not bound to satisfy any one of the quantity, but such as advertised, he says, "that had all the mountains been of massy gold, it was not possible for him to have remained to work it, having neither men nor instruments for the purpose. Further, that the country was covered with such thick woods, reaching to the very edge of the rivers, that in ascending them, it was very difficult to find a place to land; and if this should be done, to penetrate into the country; not only from this cause, but the heavy floods of water which fall, inundating it so, that they would be obliged to wade several feet deep. In addition he was four hundred miles from his ships, which he left weakly manned, and in an open road, and had been absent a month, although he promised to return in fifteen days."

To the allegation, that the gold was brought from Africa, he thus feelingly replies: "Others have devised, that the same ore was had from Barbary, and that we carried it with us to Guyana. Surely the singularity of that device, I do not well comprehend. For mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby, to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subject to perils, to diseases, to all seasons; to be parched and withered, and to sustain all the care and labor of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guyana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit, is not the way of honor or good opinion."\*

The above defence bears the marks of great sincerity, and in forming an opinion of Sir Walter Raleigh, from his Narrative, it is proper to distinguish the facts he states, from the views he formed upon them. His veracity in the recital of the former, there is no reason to question; while a further knowledge of the country has shown, that his ardent and enthusiastic spirit, and lively imagination, led him to form extravagant ideas of the mineral riches of Guyana.

But that he sincerely believed in the account he gave of the mineral treasures in this region, he furnished the strongest further evidence, by the expeditions he made to it the two succeeding years after, for the same object, though not able to accompany them himself.

Of the existence of gold in this part of South America, various voyagers and travellers also speak. The gold ornaments seen by Columbus upon the Indians on the coast of Paria, have been mentioned; and his biographer, Ferdinand Columbus, says he saw an Indian with a piece of gold, as large as an apple. Oviedo, in his account of the voyage of Vespucci, states, that as they sailed along the coast of Terra-Firma, they observed, that all along from Margaritta to Cape de la Vela, the Indians bartered for gold and pearls. But a testimony more applicable to the subject, is that of Sir Robert Duddley, who made a voyage to Trinidad in 1595—the same year with Raleigh's expedition—whom I have before referred to, as a voyager deserving the utmost credit.

"I learned of the savages, that the names of the kingdoms on the main over against us, were in order these: The kingdom of Morocca, Seewano, Waliane, Charibes, Yguire; and right against the northern part of Trinidad, the main was called the highland of Paria. In Seewano we heard of a mine of gold to be in a town called Wackerew. The kingdom of Iguire, (Igyuire,) I found to be full of metal, called by the Indians *nearo*, which is rather copper, or very base gold. But lastly, to come to Waliane, it is the first kingdom of the empire of Guyana. The great wealth which I understood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden mine in a town of this kingdom, called Orocoa, in the river of the Oronoke, was much to be esteemed, not in words alone; but offered, upon pain of life, to be a guide himself to any place that he spoke of. I sent fourteen men in my boat with most of the discreetest men of my company. They found the main full of fresh rivers, the one entering into another. They entered into a small river, called Cabotas, the people named Veriotans—a courteous people. The next river they passed was named Mana, where the king offered to bring a canoe full of the golden ore; and to this purpose sent a canoe which returned and brought me this answer, that Armago, captain of the mine, refused them; but if they would come thither, he himself would make them answer. Upon this my boat went at his appointed place; he met them with some 100 men in canoes, and told them, that by force they should have nothing but blows; yet, if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and jewsharps, he bid them assure me he had ~~a mine of gold~~, and could refine it, and would trade with me; in token whereof, he sent me three or four crescents or half-moons of gold, weighing a noble a-piece, or more."\*

But this subject has been fully elucidated by the recent investigations of Humboldt in Venezuela, who has shown that reports have always prevailed there of the existence of gold in various sections of it—that specimens of native gold have frequently been found there—that several attempts at mining have been made by the Spaniards, although it remains doubtful whether the ore exists there in sufficient quantity to justify operations to obtain it. "Their attention," he observes, "was first directed

to the western mountains of Venezuela; and there they, at an early period, wrought the gold mine of Barquisimento. But these works, like many other mines successively opened, were soon abandoned. Here, as in all the mountains of Venezuela, the ore has been found to be very variable in its produce. The lodes are very often divided, or cease; and the metals appear only in kidney-ores, and present the most delusive appearances." Next to these and the works of Buria, those in the valley of Caraccas are the most remarkable. "An Indian of the Guykeries, having seen some bits of gold in the hands of the natives, succeeded in discovering, in 1560, the mines of Los Teques, to the southwest of Caraccas, in the group of the mountains of Cocuimo, which separate the valleys of Caraccas and Aragua. It is thought that, in the first of these valleys, near Baruta, the natives had made some excavations in veins of auriferous quartz; and that, when the Spaniards first settled there and founded the town of Caraccas, they filled the shafts which had been dug with water. It is now impossible to verify the fact. The mines of Los Teques could not be peaceably wrought till the defeat of the Cacique Guaycapuro, who so long contested with the Spaniards the possession of the province of Venezuela. In the mountains east of the valley of Caraccas, mining experiments have also been made. In these mountains the gneiss passes into a talckous state, and contains, among other minerals, lodes of auriferous quartz. The labors there, which were anciently begun, have often been abandoned and renewed."

The mines of Caraccas remained forgotten for more than a hundred years. But toward the end of the last century, they were resumed by an Intendant of Venezuela, Don Jose Avalo. Some Mexican miners were procured: "The choice," says Humboldt, "was not fortunate. They could not distinguish a single rock; everything appeared to them gold and silver. Their operations were directed toward the ravine of Tipe; and the ancient mines of Baruta, to the south of Caraccas, where the Indians gathered, even in my time, a little stream of gold. The zeal of the administration soon diminished; and after having incurred many useless expenses, the enterprise of the mines of Caraccas was totally abandoned. A small quantity of auriferous pyrites, sulphuretted silver, and a little native gold, had been found; but they were feeble indications, —and in a country where labor is extremely dear, there was no inducement to pursue works so little productive."\*

On the subject, generally, of the existence of gold in this region, he gives the following opinion: "The rock of gneiss, passing into a granite of new formation, sometimes mica-slate, belongs, in Germany, to the most metalliferous rocks; but in the new Continent, the granite has not been hitherto remarked as very rich in ores worth working. In several spots of the valley of Caraccas, the gneiss contains a small quantity of gold, disseminated in small veins of quartz, sulphuretted silver, azure,

\* Humboldt's *Pem. Nar.*, ch. xiii.

copper ore, and galena ; but it remains doubtful, whether these different metalliferous substances are not too poor to attempt working them.”\*

The researches thus made by Humboldt, in Venezuela, do not, indeed, comprise the region visited by Raleigh, and to which his accounts relate, although in its immediate vicinity ; but if such is the character of the mountainous chain along the coast, including its branches north and west of the Oronoke, it may be reasonably supposed, that those which extend over that river into Guyana are of the same character ; especially, as it has been shown that the second chain of mountains of South America, or the Cordillera of Parima, presents similar appearances. On his return from his expedition up the Oronoke, he descended this river to Angustura, the capital of Spanish Guyana. The mineralogical examination he made there, was not as extensive as at Caraccas. The fatigue of a long journey through a wilderness region, probably, in some measure, prevented him.

The following are all the remarks he makes on the subject : “ It were to be wished, that here, as in the fine and fertile province of Venezuela, the inhabitants, faithful to the labor of the fields, would not addict themselves too hastily to the search for mines. The example of Germany and Mexico prove, no doubt, that the working of metals is not at all incompatible with a flourishing state of agriculture ; but, according to popular traditions, the banks of the Carony lead to the lake Dorado, and the palace of the gilded King ; and this lake, and this palace, being a *local fable*, it might be dangerous to awaken remembrances that begin gradually to be effaced. I was assured, that in 1760, the independent Charibees went to Cerro de Pajarcaina, (a mountain to the south of Veia Guyana.) The gold-dust collected by their labor, was put into calebashes and sold to the Dutch at Essequibo. Still more recently, some Mexican miners, who abused the credulity of Don Jose de Avalo, the Intendant of Caraccas, undertook a very considerable work in the centre of the missions of the Rio Carony. They declared that the whole rock was auriferous ; stamping-mills, *brocards*, and smelting furnaces were constructed. After having expended very large sums, it was discovered that the pyrites contained no trace whatever of gold. These essays, though fruitless, served to renew the ancient idea, “ that every shining rock in Guyana, is *una madre del oro*.” (These are the words of Raleigh.) †

These remarks, though brief, are important. 1. Humboldt states, that popular traditions continued, to the time of his visit, to prevail in Spanish Guyana, that at the head of the Caroni was the lake Dorado, and the palace of the “ gilded King,” which is the very region where Raleigh places his lake Cassipa, and the city of Manoa—and the existence of which is confirmed by the map of De Pons, on which, made as late as 1805, he marks on his lake Parima, in a very distinct manner, the site of this city, or El Dorado. 2. The attempt made by the Mexican miners to search for gold in the centre of the missions of Caroni, shows that an

\* Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.*, ch. xiii.

† Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.*, ch. xxiv.

opinion then existed that gold was to be found in the neighborhood of that river, as Raleigh related. In his defence, it is not necessary to prove that it actually exists there in abundance. It is sufficient for the purpose to show, that there are appearances of it there, which have led others, like himself, into that belief. 3. The failure of the Mexican miners to find it in the particular spot where they sought for it, detracts nothing from his relation, as Humboldt states, that gold-dust has been obtained by the Charibees in that region, which they sold to the Dutch; a fact which gives the highest degree of probability to the statement of Raleigh, that the ore he took with him to England from the Oronoke, was obtained by him there; and not, as his enemies alleged, brought from other parts—particularly, from the additional remark of Humboldt, that the Charibees of the Essequibo, Caroni, and Cayuni, have been accustomed to wash the earth for gold from the remotest times;—for it was with this nation with whom Raleigh chiefly had intercourse, and from whom he obtained his information of Guyana. In regard to the Charibees of the Essequibo, this remark of Humboldt corresponds with a fact I have mentioned, that in the middle of the last century, gold-dust was brought down that river and given to the Director-General of the Dutch colony upon it, who sent it to Holland.

An examination has thus been made of the relations in the Narrative of Raleigh, which I proposed to consider; and it has been shown that, as to the principal facts which he states, he is fully supported by contemporary and later travellers, and some local testimony; but on which he suffered his imagination to form extravagant and erroneous ideas: in particular, that there is a large body of water in the interior of Guyana, which remains, probably, for more than half the year, called by the Charibees the White Sea; which may, or may not be termed a lake—that it is salt, as stated by him, and confirmed by his associates, Keymis and Berrie, and that the Caroli, (or Caroni,) probably rises out of it; that there is at present about it a great collection of remnants of Indian nations, rendering it probable, that the population formerly there was considerable, and that they had gold ornaments in abundance; and the channel by which they might have obtained them, has been pointed out: that this settlement probably bore the name Raleigh gives it—Manoa, or Manao, from the Mahanaos, or Manaos, who still dwell upon it; that the facts stated by Martinez, who first applied the appellation “El Dorado” to this place, do not necessarily imply a rich and magnificent city—but which idea, Raleigh too readily imbibed from the oft-repeated rumors among the Spaniards of such a city, and their repeated enterprises to discover it. In regard to the invasion of Guyana by one of the Incas of Peru, by whom he supposes Manoa, or the imperial city, was built—an idea which he founds upon the relations of the Charibee chief on the Oronoke—it has also been shown, that there was, probably, in early times, a great influx of nations into Guyana, by the Rio Branco, from the Amazon; and, that it is not wholly improbable, a branch of the family of the Incas



may, on the invasion of Peru by the Spaniards, have fled from it, and retired into the interior of this country by the same route;—especially from the remarkable fact stated by the Mariwin Inquirer, as related to him by a Charibee chief, that the chief of Manoa was called Pepodallapa, a name which, we can hardly doubt, was meant for Atabalipa. It has likewise been shown, in regard to the mineral treasures which Raleigh related to be in Guyana, that gold has actually been found in small parcels in various parts of it; and that in Venezuela, north of the Oronoke, and on the Essequibo, indications of the existence of this ore have led to several enterprises to discover it; although the results of them, and the examination made by Humboldt, leave the question, whether there is a sufficient quantity of it in Venezuela or Guyana, to justify mining operations, undetermined.

But, under the influence of political prejudices and an ignorance of the subject, some writers commenting on his relations respecting that country, have inveighed against him in a style of the severest censure, and endeavored to throw the brilliant lustre of his great name into the darkest shade; foremost among whom is Hume, who, in his history of England, has poured upon him the following unmeasured invective:

“Raleigh’s account of his first voyage to Guyana, proves him to have been a man capable of the most extravagant credulity, or the most impudent imposture. So ridiculous are the stories which he tells of the Incas’ chimerical empire in the midst of Guyana, the rich city of El Dorado, or Manoa, two days’ journey in length, abounding in gold and silver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favor of the English, who, he says, were expressly named as the deliverers of that country, long before any European ever touched there; the Amazons, or republic of women; and in general, the vast and incredible riches of that country, where nobody, as yet, found any treasures. His whole Narrative is a proof that he was extremely defective, either in solid understanding, morals, or both.”

In regard to the heaviest charge against Sir Walter Raleigh, in this sweeping denunciation, “the most impudent imposture,” the candid reader will not, I believe, hesitate, from the facts I have presented, completely to exonerate him; and to admit that, however he may have suffered his mind to form visions of that country, under the influence of an ardent imagination, which were not substantially founded, that he was sincere and honest in what he stated; and if anything further were necessary to prove this, it is, that after his first expedition to Guyana, his account of which was the ground of this invective, he made, the next and second year after, two other enterprises to it for the same object; the last of which was prepared entirely at his own expense. Can it be reasonably supposed he would have invested his money in an undertaking, when he knew it would be thrown away, merely to amuse the public with an attractive novelty, or to gratify his vanity by appearing as the patronizer of a splendid enterprise? Or was he led, from want of occupation, into a Quixotic scheme, to employ the otherwise dormant energies of his mind? But

Sir Walter Raleigh did not require to make distant voyages to foreign countries, to provide him with occupation, still less to engage in enterprises of a chimerical character, or at least of uncertain result for that purpose. He had resources within himself, which never failed. Had not this project, presenting itself to his mind in the most glowing colors, captivated and engrossed it, he would have found in the pursuits of literature sufficient to engage his attention, as in a future season of adversity he fully showed; and had fame been his object, he would have had in this occupation sufficient to gratify his utmost ambition. An insinuation has been made that, in forming this enterprise, he was influenced by interested motives; from a wish to regain the favor of Queen Elizabeth, by flattering her with the prospect of a splendid acquisition. But this idea cannot stand the test of examination. It is admitted, that if he had merely drawn out a highly colored representation of the wealth of Guyana, with the plan of an enterprise to conquer it, without having taken any steps to advance it himself, or embarked any property in the undertaking; such a suggestion, under the circumstances in which he was in regard to the court, might be made with some plausibility. But since he prepared not less than three expeditions for the purpose in as many successive years,—two of which were partly at his own expense, and the last entirely so, and one of which he accompanied himself—although the hope of reinstating himself in his sovereign's good graces might have encouraged him in the undertaking, his conduct furnishes the best possible evidence of his sincerity in the representations he made. Would these several expeditions have been made by him when he was aware, that after wasting his time and property, he would be certain to meet, not the smiles, but the frowns of his sovereign?—not the applause of the public, but its jeers and ridicule? The unsuccessful result of the first, after which he was refused by the Queen admittance to her court, and the public received his accounts with incredulity, was sufficient to dispel from his mind a project—not merely if it had been founded on very slight grounds, but even had he not entertained the most sanguine hopes of its success.

But it may be inquired, if Raleigh sincerely believed the mineral riches of Guyana were such as he depicted, why he did not, on his first expedition, remain to prosecute the discovery of it. To this inquiry, which he anticipated, he gives the following answer. He states that the Charibee chief, on the Oronoke, from whom he obtained his information of that country, informed him that the Epuremei, the principal nation in the interior, and whom it was necessary to subdue, were too powerful for him to attempt it with the force he had; that on being asked if he should not be able to take “the first town of the civil and apparelled people,” the chief answered in the affirmative; and that he would himself accompany him, with all the borderers, if the rivers were fordable, and he left behind fifty men to protect his people against the Epuremei, who would, after they left, invade them, in consequence of their furnishing guides to him; and being informed by Raleigh that it was not in his power to spare that num-

ber, he begged him to defer the enterprise to the next year, when the rivers would be fordable. These reasons being taken by Raleigh into serious consideration, and reflecting that an unsuccessful attempt at that time would injure his success hereafter, by rendering the Indians in the interior hostile to the English, as they were then to the Spaniards, seeing that they came for the same object, to sack and plunder—he concluded to defer the enterprise to another year; and after making an alliance with this chief, and giving him a promise to return at that time, proceeded to England.\*

"This Cacique," says Raleigh, "is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Oronokoconi; and he so behaved himself toward me in all his answers, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and sound judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning or breed."†

That Sir Walter Raleigh made such a promise to this chief, is proved, not only by his actually sending out the next year another expedition to the Oronoke—being prevented by his public engagements himself accompanying it—but by accounts which voyagers, who sailed to the coast of Guyana some years after, gave of the inquiries the Charibees made of them respecting him, and their disappointment at his not fulfilling his promise. In the account of the voyage by Charles Leigh to the river Oyapoke, in Cayenne, in 1604, (nine years after) he observes, the Galibis, or Charibees, (who inhabit there) often asked him of Sir Walter Raleigh; and that one came from the Oronoke expressly to inquire respecting him, alleging the promise he made of his return.‡

Robert Harcourt, who made a voyage to the same river in 1606, states, that the chief upon it, with whom he made a treaty, said that he remembered the arrival of Raleigh on the Oronoke, and the submission of the Charibees to his sovereign; and that he had made a promise to return—for his not fulfilling which, says Harcourt, I excused him, by reason of his employments of great importance at home, and observed, that when he found he could not return, he had sent Captain Keymis in his place to visit them.§ And the Mariwin Inquirer, the associate of Harcourt, relates, that the ancient Indian, who gave him an account of Manoa, &c., and was from the Oronoke, said that Topiawari, the Charibee chief on that river with whom Raleigh made an alliance, "wondered that he had not heard from him according to his promise, and that he thought the Spaniards had slain him; and that Topiawari had drawn in several nations under two chiefs, Wanaritone, captain of Canuria, and Wacariopea, captain of Sayma, against Raleigh's coming, to have made war against the Epuremei, and that these chiefs were still expecting him."||

Dr. Bancroft, in his history of Guyana, published in 1766, says, that the Charibees of Guyana at that time—which was one hundred and seventy-one years after Raleigh's first voyage—retained a tradition of an Eng-

\* Cayley, vol. 1, pp. 252—253.

† Cayley, vol. 1, p. 246.

‡ Purchas's *Region and Religion of the World*.

§ Purchas's *Coll. of Voyages*, Book vi. ch. xvi.

|| Appendix, No. 1.

lish chief, who, many years since, traded with them and encouraged them to persevere in enmity to the Spaniards; promising to return and settle among them, and afford them assistance. It is said they still preserve an English Jack, which he left with them to distinguish his countrymen. This, adds Bancroft, could be no other than Sir Walter Raleigh.

It is undoubted, that a warm and brilliant imagination, animated by the fire of a poetical genius, which threw the brightest colors on objects that presented a favorable aspect to him, was a conspicuous trait in the mind of Sir Walter Raleigh. But this, so far from being extraordinary in the pursuit of distant and hazardous undertakings, the possession of this faculty seems to be necessary to the success of any enterprise. Under the influence of imagination, distant objects may be sometimes pursued that are airy phantoms; but without it, no pursuit of what is difficult and uncertain would ever be attempted. It is the breeze that impels a ship on a voyage, and although it may sometimes drive it on shoals or rocks, without its influence the gallant vessel would remain motionless on shore. When an object is pursued with the hope of success, it is presented by the imagination in such bright and attractive colors, as to produce an ardor and a passion of the mind to obtain it, which overlooks all obstacles, or gives an energy to surmount them. But when viewed through the medium of sober calculation, and the dangers and hazards attending its pursuit, as well as the advantages expected from it, coolly weighed, doubt and indecision follow; delay arises; the novelty, which added much to its charms, wears away, until that which was once anxiously desired is viewed with indifference, as too difficult to be obtained, or if obtained, not worth the pursuit. Would Columbus have fostered the bold and magnificent idea of crossing the broad Ocean, which washes the shores of Europe, whose extent no one knew or could divine, with the expectation of finding a new world beyond it, had he calmly considered all the difficulties and hazards to be met with in the execution of the project, and deliberately weighed all the arguments in favor of and against his success? But his mind, susceptible of grand conceptions and bold resolutions, when the idea was presented to it, it struck into a congenial soil; and as hew-armed with the contemplation of it, an enthusiasm in the pursuit was produced which no difficulties could damp.

Such was the case with Sir Walter Raleigh. The accounts which he had read of El Dorado and the wealth of Guyana, had for years been the subjects of his thoughts; presenting to him a brilliant project, suitable to his enterprising genius to achieve; and in some of its features corresponding with the imaginative poetical cast of his mind, it took complete possession of it, and inspired him with an irresistible ardor to undertake it. Had he stopped to reason on the subject—to balance arguments on the one side and the other—a host of objections would have started up before him. The country he proposed to explore, was wholly unknown. It had never even been at all entered by European footsteps, except by the individual Juan Martinez, who first gave the account of “the rich

and magnificent city," which certainly required confirmation. This famed city had been sought, too, for a long time, by adventurers in various directions—by Belalcazar and Pizarro, from Peru across the Andes; Philip de Urrea, southwardly from Venezuela; Orellana and Orsua, down the Amazon—the whole length of it to the Ocean—and numerous others, without giving any information of a city discovered by them at all corresponding to the description of the one they sought, excepting Urrea, whose narrative was generally considered too marvellous to be credited. Then Guyana, through its whole extent, was covered with almost impervious forests; the Indians inhabiting it reported to be of the most ferocious character, and some even cannibals. The Spaniards, besides, were desirous of acquiring this region, and his attempt to conquer it would meet with their opposition.

But his mind, illumined by a fervid imagination, saw another prospect. The whole of Guyana, extending from the Amazon to the Orinoco, it is true, was wholly unknown. But for that reason, it might be desirable to examine it for this rumored Golden City. The disappointment of the numerous adventurers, who went on toilsome expeditions in search of it, ought not to deter. Their persevering pursuit of it, evinces their full conviction of its reality, and they sought for it, perhaps, in a wrong direction; and it may be found in the region now pointed out as its locality, yet unexplored. If the Spaniards, in their conquests in South America, found rich cities inhabited by the natives, abounding in gold, on the west of the Andes—may there not be such, at least one, discovered east of this chain toward the Atlantic? The rough state of the country, and the terror the native tribes inspired, were not sufficient to daunt him. The shores of North America had been examined and colonized under his direction, and the colonists sent there were not repulsed or ill-used by the inhabitants, but met from them, invariably, a welcome reception. The opposition of the Spaniards caused him no apprehension. The country was yet unpossessed by Europeans—the field was open—he would endeavor to discover and possess it; and if he succeeded in his attempt, would maintain it against them.

And, in the censures which some historians have passed upon him, it seems to have been entirely overlooked, that he is not the only one who was led away by the delusive idea of "the Golden City;" but that numbers before him, men of the first rank in Peru and New Grenada, brave military leaders and distinguished viceroys, enthusiastically followed the pursuit of it. If they should not only have yielded to the belief of it, but hazarded their lives and fortunes to discover it—fitting out the most expensive expeditions, which, says Mr. Southey, have cost Spain more than all the treasures she has received from her possessions in America—it is surprising that so great a want of candor should have been shown to an English hero, whose chivalric courage and enterprising genius were excited by the same dazzling prospect.

And even after his voyages to Guyana, although the ardor in search of El Dorado greatly diminished, and no expeditions by any numerous bands of colonists have been made, yet solitary enterprises have been undertaken and encouraged by Governors of the Spanish provinces, even to the latest period. "At Cuenza, in the kingdom of Quito," observes Humboldt, "I met with some men who were employed by the Bishop of Marfil, to seek at the east of the Cordilleras, in the plains of Macas, the ruins of the town of Logrono, which was believed to be situated in a country rich in gold. We learn by the journal of Hortsman, that it was supposed in 1740, *Dorado might be reached from Dutch Guyana, by going up the Rio Essequibo*. Don Manuel Centurion, the Governor of Angustura, displayed an extreme ardor for reaching the imaginary lake of Manoa. An Indian of the nation of the Ipurucutoes, went down the Rio Carony, and by false narratives inflamed the imagination of the Spanish colonists. . . . Another Indian chief, known among the Charibees of Essequibo by the name of Captain Juraddo, vainly attempted to undeceive the Governor. Fruitless attempts were made by the Caura and the Rio Paragua, and several hundred persons perished miserably in their rash enterprises, from which, however, geography has derived some advantages. Nicholas Rodriguez and Antonio Santos were employed by the Governor."\* Santos is the individual who has before been spoken of, as one of the four instances of travellers who came near the supposed site of lake Parima, of whose journal Humboldt had a perusal; and who went up the Caroni and the Paragua, one of its branches, then crossed the Cordillera of Parima, and came to St. Rosa, on the Uaripara, a tributary of the western branch of the Branco, from which he passed down the Branco into the Amazon and to the Brazils. De Pons, in his 'History of Caraccas,' gives some further particulars in regard to this adventure. "When the wild Indian appeared before the Governor of Spanish Guyana, he was assailed with questions, which he answered with as much perspicuity and precision as could be expected from one whose most intelligible language consisted in signs. He, however, succeeded in making them understand that there was, on the banks of lake Parima, a city, whose inhabitants were civilized and regularly disciplined to war. He boasted a great deal of the beauty of its buildings, the neatness of its streets, the regularity of its squares, and the riches of its people. According to him, the roofs of its principal houses were either of gold or silver. The high-priest, instead of pontifical robes, rubbed his whole body with the fat of the turtle; then they blew upon it some gold-dust, so as to cover his whole body with it. In this attire, he performed the religious ceremonies. The Indian sketched on a table, with a bit of charcoal, the city of which he had given a description. His ingenuity seduced the Governor. He asked him to serve as a guide to some Spaniards he wished to send on this discovery, to which the Indian consented. Six Spaniards offered themselves for this undertaking, and among others, Don Antonio Santos. They set off and

\* Humboldt's *Pers. Nar.*, ch. xxiv.

travelled nearly five hundred leagues to the south, through the most frightful roads. Hunger, the swamps, the woods, the precipices, the heats, the rains, destroyed almost all. When those who survived thought themselves four or five days' journey from the capital city, and hoped to reach the end of all their troubles and the object of their desires, the Indian disappeared in the night. This event dismayed the Spaniards. They knew not where they were. By degrees, they all perished but Santes, to whom it occurred to disguise himself as an Indian. He threw off his clothes, covered his whole body with red paint, and introduced himself among them by his knowledge of many of their languages. He was a long time among them, until, at length, he fell into the power of the Portuguese established on the banks of the Rio Negro. They embarked him on the river Amazon, and after a very long detention, sent him back to his country."\*

But in addition to the proofs which I have given, of the sincere belief of Sir Walter Raleigh in the representations he made of the wealth of Guyana at least—for I do not know how much longer the idea of El Dorado possessed his mind after the three expeditions which he made to this region, which have been related—there is the further strongest evidence in the fact, that the conquest and possession of this country continued afterward to be prosecuted by him with undiminished ardor; although difficulties, in which he became involved at home, from the jealousy and rivalry of contemporary statesmen, the buddings of which had appeared some time before, threw obstacles in his way. Indications of the opposition to him of the Earl of Essex appeared, as has been mentioned, some time before, in the expedition against the city of Cadiz, in which Raleigh was engaged, under him. The leaders of this expedition, found a very gracious reception from the Queen on their return; but Essex was dissatisfied that more had not been done; and, to add to his mortification, found that Sir Robert Cecil had acquired a predominant influence with her, and been appointed Secretary of State. They thus became rivals and enemies, and headed two powerful factions, which divided the court, and contended for the supreme direction of affairs.† Raleigh was subsequently employed in various naval expeditions under Essex, and in the course of them, the animosity of the minister to him again disclosed itself. The danger to him, however, from this circumstance, began to be less, as he was then in the favor of the Queen, and on good terms with Cecil; and the influence of Essex at the court was on the decline. Various causes contributed to foment the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth against him; and Essex, at length seeing her fixed dislike, and the hopelessness of all efforts to regain her favor, set on foot those acts for the overthrow of her government, which cost him his life. He had, in the mean time, been courting the friendship of King James of Scotland, who looked to the succession to the throne of England; and in his correspondence, his own enemies were represented to James, as enemies to his succession;

\* Cayley, vol. 2. p. 301–306.

† Hist. of Caraccas, vol. 2. p. 281.

among whom, Raleigh would naturally be included—and, with great appearance of probability, Essex may be called the first planter of a prejudice in the mind of James against him.

With the death of Queen Elizabeth, the good fortunes of Raleigh sank to rise no more. No sooner was the blow struck against Essex, than Raleigh found another rival appearing against him at the court. Cecil, as well as Essex, found it prudent, during the life of Elizabeth, to cultivate the favor of James, who was likely soon to become his sovereign. He commenced a secret correspondence with him, and in some of the letters, which have been published, he speaks of Raleigh in terms of strong disaffection. The cause of his opposition is but little known; but it is probable, that after the fall of Essex, their friendship terminated in a rivalry for power.

On the accession of James, the prepossessions thus early instilled in his mind against Raleigh, were increased by other causes. Raleigh appears to have been among those, who, in regard to the known feud between England and Scotland, had a desire that he might be bound by articles; and his enterprising and martial character was little agreeable to James.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that he received neglect at court. The tide of prejudice ran strong against him; and no thought or action of his life, was any longer innocent. Three months had not elapsed, before he was charged with treasonable practices against the government.\* He was, it appears, at that time on terms of intimacy with Lord Cobham; who, being also out of favor at court, was engaged in various schemes to revenge himself against it. Among others, he had an intercourse with persons concerned in a Popish plot, and this treason being discovered, he became suspected. In consequence of Raleigh's intimacy with him, doubts also arose in regard to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended. The leading conspirators were first tried, condemned, and suffered the penalty of the law. Sir Walter Raleigh was then, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, tried; and by the influence of the court, and the vehement, abusive eloquence of the Attorney General, Sir Edward Coke, without any color of evidence, was convicted of high treason.† But the King did not sign the warrant for his execution. He was committed to the Tower, with the sword hanging over his head, to suffer under the constant apprehension of the execution of the sentence, or with the alternative of an indefinite, perhaps, perpetual imprisonment. In his confinement, however, he was allowed various privileges; and he had many friends and pityers in his adverse fortune, among whom were the Queen, and the celebrated Henry, Prince of Wales. An attachment of peculiar strength appears to have subsisted between Prince Henry and him. "No king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage," was a remark of his. His death, in his nineteenth year, was a loss to Raleigh, of the widest extent imaginable; as well from the real esteem which he manifested for his character, as from the future prospects

\* Cayley, vol. 1. pp. 352-358.

† Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*



which the Prince's patronage afforded him. The death of Cecil, six months before, had inspired him with the hopes of obtaining his freedom; as, in the Earl of Somerset, who succeeded him, he had a steady friend, which would naturally be much discouraged by the latter event, but were entirely dispelled by this minister's falling into disgrace. Villiers then became the favorite; and, by this event, Raleigh effected by money, what the most powerful patronage could not accomplish. Fifteen hundred pounds, given to two friends of the minister, procured their influence with him, and the King's consent to his enlargement; and thus, on the seventeenth of March, 1616, after an imprisonment of more than twelve years' duration, Sir Walter Raleigh at length obtained his freedom.\*

During his long confinement, it may naturally be supposed, he did not suffer his brilliant talents to be unemployed and wasted in unavailing repinings, or sullen indolence. The frowns of a monarch, or the gloom of a prison, were unable to repress the activity of his ardent and vigorous intellect. The pursuit of literature and science in various departments, was his constant employment; and his efforts in which, have made him as distinguished as his daring enterprises on sea or land. "The advantages of a cultivated understanding," says Mr. Cayley, "have, perhaps, seldom been more truly recognized, than they were at this time, by Sir Walter Raleigh, in alleviating confinement, and supporting the endless diversity of fortune. The disposition he made of his time, discovered in this, not less than on other occasions, the superiority of his mind; for, in the calm contemplation of his intellectual talents, he found the resource of all others best adapted to relieve his situation, and which a superior mind could alone advert to. His History of the World, and many of his political pieces, were composed in the Tower; and much of his time was amused with chemical pursuits, to which he appears to have had a strong partiality." †

As one of the most elegant writers of England observes:

"His vigor sunk not, when a coward reign  
The warrior fettered:  
Then active still, and unrestrained, his mind  
Explored the vast extent of ages past,  
And with his prison hours enriched the world."

\* Cayley, vol. 2. pp. 47-53.

† Cayley, vol. 2. p. 45.

## CHAPTER VI.

**HIS LIBERATION FROM IMPRISONMENT—PREPARES ANOTHER (HIS FOURTH) EXPEDITION TO GUYANA—UNFORTUNATE FAILURE OF IT—HIS RETURN HOME—GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE KING AGAINST HIM—HIS TRAGICAL END—CONSEQUENCES OF HIS VOYAGES TO THAT COUNTRY—COLONIES SENT TO IT FROM ENGLAND—SKETCH OF THE SETTLEMENTS MADE IN IT BY OTHER NATIONS.**

It may also be readily conceived, that, to the enterprising mind of Sir Walter Raleigh, while in confinement—entertaining, as he no doubt would, the hope that the efforts he was continually making for his liberation would be successful—the field of future action would, amid his studies, present itself; especially, the favorite scheme which he had for years before pursued with persevering ardor—the conquest of Guayana.

I have remarked that, although, after the third expedition made by him to that country, the difficulties, in which he became involved at home, caused impediments to the attainment of his object, they were little able to relax his ardor in the pursuit of it. How great were the distresses and troubles into which he was plunged, has just been shown. But, that amid them all, this enterprise, in which he had formerly so enthusiastically embarked, was not forgotten, is seen by the following passage from Dr. Campbell's 'Lives of the Admirals.'

"Among the subjects which occupied his mind, a prominent one was his old scheme of settling Guyana; a scheme worthy of him, and which, as he first discovered, so he constantly prosecuted. We have seen how many voyages he encouraged during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when, considering the many great employments he engaged in, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwise occupied; and so it must have been, if he had not been thoroughly persuaded, and that upon the best evidence in the world, his own eyesight and judgment, that this was the richest country in the world, and the worthiest of being settled for the benefit of Britain. This persuasion was so strong upon him, that, during his confinement, he held a constant intercourse with Guyana; sending, at his own charge, every year, or every second year, a ship to keep the Indians in hopes of his performing the promise he made them, of coming to their assistance and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. In these ships were brought out several of the natives of that country, with whom Sir Walter conversed in the Tower."

Two years before his liberation, he offered to the court a scheme for the settlement of it, but on which nothing could be done, as he was not yet able to obtain his discharge. But soon after he was liberated, viz: on the twenty-sixth August of that year, he obtained a royal commission to undertake it at his own expense, with the most ample grant of powers;\* and as soon as he received it, he made preparations for procuring funds for a new expedition to that region. Circumstances favored the undertaking. A new and bright prospect opened to him, and his mind was elated with the almost certain expectation, of at length realizing the object of which he had so long been in pursuit. The opinion of the public, in regard to him, was altered, and this enterprise received from it greater attention and encouragement than his former ones. Co-adventurers likewise were obtained, among whom were some foreigners.†

Hume, who, of all his censurers, has inveighed most bitterly against him, makes the following remarks on this period of his life: "The sentiments of the nation were much changed in regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigors of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amid naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as the History of the World."

Sir Walter Raleigh, with the means which he and his associates provided, equipped a fleet of eight vessels, of which one was built at his own charge, and he accompanied in her as captain. There were also on board of her two hundred men, of which eighty were "gentlemen volunteers;" and adventurers, many of them his relations, which number was afterward increased. Of the other vessels, most of them were of a smaller size, as tenders.

On the twenty-eighth May, 1617, twenty-two years after the first expedition made by him for the same object, the fleet had dropped down the Thames. Stress of weather obliged him to put into Cork, and it was late in August before he could proceed. He arrived on the coast of Guyana, at the river Cayenne, twelfth November, 1617, a district inhabited by the Charibee Indians, belonging to the same nation with those on the Oronoke, with whom, on his first arrival, in 1595, he made an amicable alliance; and long as had been the period of his absence, he found their friendly sentiments to him were not in the least diminished. In a letter which he wrote to Lady Raleigh from this place, he says: "To tell you that I might be here King of the Indians, were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with all that the country yields. All offer to obey me."

\* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

† Cayley, vol. 2. pp. 60-61.

But the prospect of a favorable result to this expedition, which this welcome reception by the Charibees was calculated to inspire, was soon dispelled. Disastrous events commenced, which dissipated all his cherished hopes, and led to consequences which finally entirely overwhelmed him. His illness, in the course of the voyage, which was not extraordinary after his close confinement in the walls of a prison for thirteen years, rendering him little prepared to encounter a change of climate, the sea air, and other inconveniences of a voyage, laid the foundation for the unfortunate events that subsequently happened. He remained at Cayenne river until the fourth December, having been dangerously ill for six weeks —when, not wishing to incur any longer delay in prosecuting the expedition, and being unable himself to accompany it, he gave orders to five small vessels, each of which to have a company of fifty men, to sail to the Oronoke, under the direction of Captain Keymis, his trusty associate, who had commanded the second expedition made by him to this river, in 1596. Keymis proceeded up the Oronoke with the vessels intrusted to his charge, (the other ships remaining at Trinidad,) to accomplish the object of the expedition. He was absent above two months; and on his return, gave Raleigh the unwelcome and most unexpected intelligence of the total failure of the enterprise, accompanied with the afflicting account of the death of his son. He related, that the Spaniards had a settlement or town on the river, two miles below the mine; that he intended to proceed at once to the mine, but, from the lowness of the river, he could not approach to it nearer than a mile; when he landed his companies, intending to remain on the bank of the river until the next day, when they were set upon in the night and charged by the Spaniards. To repel this force, they charged back, and following the Spaniards in their retreat, entered the town, of which they took possession, and drove them to the woods; in which assault young Raleigh was killed. The town being thus possessed, he prepared to discover the mine, and went to it in a shallop with eight men. But on approaching near the bank where he intended to land, he received from the woods a volley of shot, which slew two of the company, and wounded others.

He made no further attempts to reach the mine, and returned with his vessels to Trinidad. For not proceeding to it and making further discoveries, he gave as excuses to Raleigh, the death of his son, and his fear that he was himself dead, or, that the news of his son would hasten his end: to which he added, that the Spaniards being in the woods between the mine and the town, it was impossible to reach the mine unless they had been driven out; for which they had no men, as the greater part of the three companies guarded the town against the daily and nightly alarms, with which they were troubled; that it was also impossible to keep any companies at the mine, for want of provisions from the town, which they were not able to carry up the mountains. The following circumstance is mentioned by Raleigh, in one of his letters, as having had, also, weight

in inducing him to give up the enterprise. Letters from the King of Spain were intercepted by him, containing an order for strengthening the Spaniards on the Oronoke, with one hundred and fifty soldiers, who were to have descended the river from New-Grenada; and one hundred and fifty to have come up it, from the island of Porto Rico, with ten pieces of ordnance; the arrival of which he was hourly apprehensive of, and by which he might have been inclosed.

Birch, in his *Life of Raleigh*, gives the following account of the cause of the failure of this expedition: "The five ships found a new Spanish town, called St. Thomas, consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, though lightly built—with a convent, a chapel of Franciscan friars, and a garrison, erected on the main channel of the Oronoke, about twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo attempted to plant. Keymis and the rest thought themselves obliged, through fear of having the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions—which enjoined them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under shelter of their camp; and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should behave toward them. They determined, therefore, to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town; by which means, though themselves were the stronger, their boats were exposed, and the mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's orders. For, about three weeks after their departure, landing by night nearer the town than they suspected, and intending to rest themselves on the river's side till morning, they were, in the night-time, set upon by the Spanish troops, —apprised of, and forewarned of their coming."\*

But whatever were the causes which produced a failure of the expedition, the intelligence of it, communicated to Raleigh, overwhelmed him. The letters and dispatches which he wrote to England, at this time, are in the strain of a heart-broken man, and bear the strongest internal evidence of the sincerity of his intentions, in planning the enterprise, and his confident expectations of obtaining the great results from it which he held forth. And, certainly, abundant cause existed for his deep dejection. After having resolved on this project more than twenty years—even during his long imprisonment, maturing plans for its accomplishment—when his freedom at length obtained, embarking all his property, he succeeded in preparing another expedition for the purpose; seeing the fleet which he equipped, safely cross the ocean, and touch the shores of the country, to him so full of bright anticipations; and now, when about to seize the prize on which his eyes had so long rested—to behold all his hopes suddenly blasted—this last attempt made by him to effect his long cherished object, frustrated, probably, never again to be resumed—in addition, his son killed, and himself lingering under disease; this calamitous reverse was sufficient to depress, with gloom and melancholy, even his buoyant and gallant spirit, which had, through life, borne itself above every difficulty and adversity.

\* Birch's *Life of Raleigh*, pp. 76-77.

After he had heard the relation of Keymis, he told him that he had undone him, and ruined his credit with the King past recovery. Keymis himself, deeply mortified at the result, solicited Raleigh to write a letter to England, in his own name, presenting the excuses he offered for his failure; which being declined, he withdrew, and soon after, on going to his cabin, was found dead, having shot himself with a pistol.\*

Raleigh, knowing the enemies he had at home—that the King himself was his determined foe, and that the relenting of his resentment was produced only by the expectations he formed from this expedition; and recollecting what efforts had been made to discredit all his former enterprises, having the same object—looked forward to his return to England, bearing the news of the failure of the present, with the most fearful apprehensions of the disastrous consequences to him. And they were most fully verified.

On the return of the fleet to England, which was probably about May, 1618, he encountered a burst of public censure, as a gross deceiver and pretender; who, to procure his liberation, had held out the prospect of a gold mine in Guyana, which was a mere chimera, an imaginary thing—and experienced a most decided manifestation of the royal displeasure. His co-adventurers, disappointed in their expectations, contributed to increase the public displeasure against him. They concluded that they were deceived by him; that he had never known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder the Spanish town, St. Thomas, and having encouraged his company with the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of other Spanish settlements in South America, and that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprises.†

To all these charges, Raleigh, in his apology, thus forcibly and feelingly replies: “If they (his co-adventurers,) could not force Keymis to go to the mine, when he was, by his own confession, within two days’ march of it—to examine where the two ingots of gold which they brought in, were taken, which they found laid by for the King of Spain’s fifth part, or the small pieces of silver which had the same marks or stamps—if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country to see the mines which the Cacique Carapana offered them—I say there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain, or cast into the sea, because I refused it?

“A strange fancy had it been in me, to have persuaded my own son whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have adventured the eight thousand pounds, which his majesty gave them for Sherborne, and

\* *Cayley's Life of Raleigh*, ch. viii.

† *Hume's Hist. England*, vol. 5. p. 118.

when that was spent, to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guyana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes? For being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel and to watching—it being ten to one that I should ever have returned—and of which, by reason of my violent sickness, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madness would have made me undertake the journey, but the assurance of this mine?—thereby, to have done his majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children to the estate they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways and means. For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and country, my return in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.”\*

The relation of the events which befell Sir Walter Raleigh, connected with his expeditions to Guyana, which has thus far been given, is sufficient for the purpose for which it was made—the exculpation of this distinguished man from the charge of deception, in the representations he made of that country. No candid person who reads the narrative of the measures taken by him in regard to the acquisition of it, through a long course of years; the strong possession the project took of his mind, and the sacrifices he made for the purpose; but must be convinced that, —however he may, through the influence of a warm imagination and enthusiastic temper, have been deluded into the belief of the existence of great mineral treasures in Guyana, which a better knowledge of the country has shown to be without foundation—he fully believed in the representations he made, and did not impose upon the world a fabrication of his own; and, particularly, this last enterprise undertaken by him, for this object, under the peculiar circumstances in which it was made, and after such a lapse of time, ought to be sufficient to demonstrate the charge of deception and imposture made against him, to be entirely unfounded.

But although in regard to the vindication of Sir Walter Raleigh, I might here close my remarks; yet, as his last expedition to Guyana, which has just been related, was the cause of his melancholy fate, it will not, I think, be uninteresting to the reader, briefly to relate the events that subsequently befell him.

The dissatisfaction of the King with him at the failure of his expedition, was increased by his collision with the Spaniards, who had established themselves on the Oronoke, prompted by Gondomar, the Spanish minister. This envoy, it was believed, had acquired considerable influence over him, and having looked upon Raleigh's former voyages with uneasiness, and carefully watched his movements when he was preparing his last expedition, complained of it to the King as hostile and piratical to Spain; and drew from his weakness, every particular of the voyage, on which the King sent for the patent to Raleigh and corrected it. Circumstances subsequent-

\* *Cary*, vol. 2, pp. 116–111.

ly occurred, which enabled Gondomar to exert still greater power over him.

The King, in giving his consent to this expedition, it is presumed, as his wants were great at this time, had placed great hopes on the discovery of the mine which Raleigh had represented to exist on the Oronoke. But afterward a project being started of a Spanish matrimonial alliance, which he began to idolize, he found it more important to him to preserve peace with Spain, and grew less in favor of Raleigh's enterprise. Such being the state of his feelings, on the return of Raleigh, Gondomar availed himself of it to procure his ruin. Accordingly, as soon as intelligence arrived in London of Raleigh's proceeding, he proceeded to the King, exclaiming, "Pirates! pirates! pirates!" without adding more.

By all these causes King James was prepared, on the arrival of Raleigh, to make him suffer the penalties of the law, on the ground of his having committed acts of hostility against a power with whom England was then at peace; and, on the tenth of June, published a proclamation, declaring his detestation of the conduct of the expedition, and charging such of his subjects as could give any information respecting it, to repair immediately to the privy council. Raleigh no sooner reached Plymouth, and heard of the proclamation, than he resolved to surrender himself, confiding, as he confessed before his death, too much in the King's goodness. On his way to London he met with his relative, Sir Lewis Stukely, with authority to arrest and bring him to London. With him he returned to Plymouth, where, panic-struck, upon a closer view of his situation, he once meditated an escape to France. Still, however, the goodness of his cause prevailed over every apprehension, and the project was laid aside. Yet he found it necessary, on his journey to London, to gain time for preparing his vindication, by the expedient of feigning sickness, and in that interval wrote the apology for his voyage. As he approached to London, when a messenger appeared with a warrant for the speedy bringing up of his person, his constancy forsook him, and he again attempted an escape to France. But he greatly misapplied his trust in the agents he employed. His relative, Stukely, after encouraging, and even pretending to lend a hand in the design, received a bribe and betrayed him. In a boat, in the very act of making his escape in disguise, he was apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Much deliberation was exercised by the Chancellor and Commissioners, which continued two months, in regard to the manner of proceeding against him. It was at last determined, that the sentence which had been passed against him fifteen years since, the execution of which had been suspended, should be enforced; and soon after the decision had been made known to the King, a privy seal was sent to the Judges to order immediate execution.

Raleigh was then called to the bar, and being informed by the court of the order of the King, and asked, in the customary form, why execution should not be awarded against him?—after apologizing for the weakness of



his voice, in consequence of his late sickness, he hoped that the judgment which he received should not be strained to take away his life, as his majesty had given him permission to proceed on a voyage beyond the seas, where he had power, as marshal, on the life and death of others, which he considered discharged the judgment. But he was interrupted by the Chief Justice, who told him that was not sufficient; that in case of treason, by express words, and not by implication, pardon was granted; and after exhorting him to meet his fate in a manner suitable to his high character, as a valiant and wise man, ordered execution. The warrant for his execution, dispensed with the former judgment of hanging, drawing and quartering. Some petitions are said to have been presented to the King in his behalf, as well as solicitations from persons of distinction, which proved ineffectual. The Queen appears to have been in the number of his intercessors.

"Few have acted," says Mr. Cayley, "so difficult a part in the last scene of his life, with the spirit and firmness which Raleigh displayed in it. The inefficacy of the intercessions with the King in his behalf, proved no disappointment to him. He no longer expected—he seemed not to wish for mercy. To some of his friends, who deplored his misfortune, he said, with calmness, 'The world is but a larger prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution.'

"On Thursday morning, the twenty-ninth of October, he was conducted by the sheriff to the scaffold. His countenance was cheerful. He saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance who were present, and then entered into an explanation of his conduct. Having finished, he prepared himself for his execution. Having taken off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to show him the axe, and felt the edge, and smiling, said to the sheriff, 'This is a sharp medicine, but it is a remedy for all diseases.' He then laid down, and after a short pause, made a sign that he was ready; and was beheaded, without the least shrink or motion of his body."\*

Thus did Sir Walter Raleigh lose his life, under a sentence which had lain dormant for fifteen years; and which he considered was virtually abrogated, and his pardon granted, by the patent for the conquest of Guyana granted to him by the crown, by one clause of which he was constituted Governor and commander-in-chief of the enterprise; by another, appointed Governor of the new colony he was to settle, with ample authority; and by the third, he had a power rarely intrusted to admirals, that of exercising martial law by sea and by land. And if he had thought it necessary, he might have obtained his pardon, for his friends at court, through whom he had procured his liberation from the Tower, offered £700 to obtain it for him, and this without requiring him to make the expedition to Guyana; but when he consulted Sir Francis Bacon, the most eminent lawyer in England, whether it were advisable to pay a sum of money for his pardon in the common form, he said to him, "Sir, the knee-timber of

\* Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, vol. 2, ch. ix.

your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already ; the King having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of martial law over your officers and soldiers.”\*

Raleigh, too, might have considered the long confinement which he endured; while the sentence was suffered to lay dormant, was a fulfillment of it, instead of the exaction of the literal penalty, and his liberation without any condition or restriction, was itself a virtual pardon. But he could not only justly complain of the form of proceeding adopted against him, but he contended, and on rightful grounds, that he had committed no act rendering him amenable to law.

He was charged with a piratical proceeding against the possessions of the King of Spain. To this he replied, that Guyana belonged to England, having been first discovered by himself twenty-three years before, although the Spaniards came afterward in his absence and made a settlement there ; and that England actually considered it to belong to her, for, in 1609, seven years before his last expedition, she made a grant of nearly the whole of it to Mr. Robert Harcourt, resting her claim to the country on no other ground than his discovery, according to the rules adopted by all Protestant nations at that time, that the right of discovery gave a title to possessions in the new hemisphere. On this basis it was, that having, under the patent of discovery granted by Queen Elizabeth, discovered Virginia, he claimed it as belonging to England, for his benefit ; although Amidas and Barlowe, who were sent out by him with two vessels and made the discovery, after examining the country, only drew up a record signed by a number of their company as evidence that they had taken possession of it, and came away without making any establishment upon it, or leaving a single person behind. Against the claims of Spain to Guyana, Raleigh could also allege the amicable league he had made in behalf of the English with the Charibees, on the Oronoke, the rightful owners of the country ; who invited him among them, while they expelled the Spaniards, and relied on the assistance of the English against them. Besides, he had the King’s leave to sail to the Oronoke and take possession of the mine he related to be there ; which the King would not have granted, if he had considered that the country belonged to Spain ; for the proceeding was equally piratical with the burning of a Spanish town. Spain, on the other hand, while she wholly disregarded the rights of the aborigines in the new hemisphere, pretended an exclusive claim to all the undiscovered land in it, under a grant from Pope Alexander Sixth, who then filled the papal chair, and that no other nation had a right to any part of it on the ground of first discovery, and treated the claims of Raleigh as a perfect nullity.

To this extravagant pretension of Spain, King James, in regard to the matrimonial alliance he had in view with it—being desirous to preserve amicable relations with it—found it expedient to yield; in opposition to the

\* Carley, vol. 2, pp. 62-64.

rules and principles uniformly followed by England in regard to foreign discoveries, and to sacrifice to a rival Power one of the brightest ornaments of his country.

That the proceedings against Sir Walter Raleigh were clearly unjust and oppressive, has been proclaimed by the unanimous voice of after times. Able pens have done justice to his merits, while they have exposed the iniquity of his condemnation, and sympathized with the misfortunes of one so distinguished for his talents and services, who combined an assemblage of qualities seldom united in one individual, fitting him for any scene of action, public or private—at once Statesman, Soldier, Seaman, Philosopher and Poet; and his history will ever remain a conspicuous, but clouded page, in the history of his country.

Even his most violent enemies have been compelled to condemn the conduct of the Government toward him.

“No measure of James’s reign,” says Hume, “was attended with more public dissatisfaction than the punishment of Sir Walter Raleigh. To execute a sentence which was originally so hard, which had been so long suspended, and which seemed to have been tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new trust and commission, was deemed an instance of cruelty and injustice. To sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England, the life of the only man in the nation who had a high reputation for valor and military experience, was regarded as meanness and indiscretion; and the intimate connections which the King was now entering into with Spain, being universally distasteful, rendered the proof of his complaisance still more invidious and unpopular.”

Thus it has been seen that the project, which twenty-three years before seized on the mind of this distinguished man, and excited in him the most enthusiastic desire for its accomplishment; and which, during that long period, he ardently and perseveringly pursued, he was unable to achieve; while his unavailing efforts, after consuming all his estate, brought him to a melancholy end. But, although his enterprises to Guyana produced no benefit to him, but only misfortune, they were not profitless to his country. Guyana was, therefore, in consequence of his discovery, claimed by England as belonging to her; and others soon entered upon the field which he had opened, wrested the prize from him, for which he had so long contended, and reaped the benefit of all his toils and efforts.

The description he gave of this country in his Narrative, with the glowing colors of a warm imagination, drew strongly public attention in England to this region; and gave rise, even before his last voyage, and while he was yet in prison in the Tower, to two voyages to it, by persons wholly unconnected with him. In 1604, Charles Leigh fitted out a vessel, and sailed to the river Oyapoke in Cayenne, and took possession, for England, of all the country lying between the Oronoke and Amazon. In 1608, Robert Harcourt, Esq., whose voyage and narrative have been frequently mentioned, set sail for the same river with a colony, where he arrived May seventeenth, and commenced a settlement. He took “possession, in his

sovereign's name, of all the spacious country of Guyana, bounded on the north with the Oronoke and the sea, on the east and south with the river Amazon, and on the west with the mountains of Peru." On his return to England, he, with Sir Thomas Challoner and John Rowenson, obtained letters patent from James I. to settle all the lands between the Amazon and Spanish Guyana. It was this grant which Raleigh contended completely exonerated him from the charge of any piratical proceeding against Spain, as by it England claimed the country as belonging to her. The attention of the English appears also to have been early turned to the river Surinam; a company of colonists from England having settled there in 1634, engaged in the cultivation of tobacco, and in 1650 a plan for the colonization of it was set on foot by Lord Willoughby, of Parham, who sent to it a vessel with some men, where they were favorably received by the Indians and made a settlement on it, and in 1652 he obtained, together with Lawrence Hyde, a son of the Earl of Clarendon, a grant from Charles II. of all the country between Cayenne and Spanish Guyana, under the name of the *Province of Surinam*. \*

The French, also, now began to turn their attention to Guyana, and made successive attempts to colonize Cayenne, from 1624 to 1652; but which were frustrated by the opposition of the Charibees, who were the principal native population of that country—till at length an association formed in France, under the name of the French Equinoctial Company, in 1663, sent a colony to it, of sufficient force to withstand them and maintain possession of the country, which laid the foundation of the present colony. Prior to the arrival of either the English or French on this coast, a settlement had been made on the Surinam river by the Portuguese, or Spaniards. But they, also, commencing acts of cruelty against the Charibees, they attacked them, and destroyed the settlement.

The Portuguese were, also, the first to settle on the Essequibo river, where they erected a fort, which was found deserted when the Dutch first came to it; for they, at that time the commercial rivals of England, were also among the earliest navigators to the coast of Guyana. As early as 1580—which was some years before the voyages of Raleigh—they attempted to form settlements on the Amazon, Oronoke, and Pomeroon, for trading purposes; and on the last river they had a factory called New-Zealand. In 1581, the States General of Holland, privileged certain individuals to trade to this coast.† Before 1596, nine or ten armed vessels from Holland were seen trading in the Oronoke, for tobacco; and before that time, also, they had made a settlement on the Essequibo. But the Spaniards looking on these proceedings with a jealous eye, drove the Dutch away from this river and the Pomeroon. In 1602, they planted a colony on the river Berbice, and about the same time had succeeded in establishing themselves on the Essequibo. In 1741, the colonists on this river, thinking the lands near the sea more productive than the upper

\* *Hartsynck Beschryving von Guiana*, p. 522.

† *Hartsynck*.

country, on which they had previously settled, began to form plantations on the river Demerara.\*

The acquaintance which the Dutch so early formed with the Oronoke, and which was before the first voyage of Raleigh, is not considered to affect his claim to the country upon it, as first discoverer, as it does not appear that they succeeded in making a location upon it, or that they entered into any treaty with the natives. Nor did they assert a right to this country, as first discoverers, against the English, although they were well acquainted with the expeditions of Raleigh to it; for the first map of Guyana was made by Hondius in Holland, and was prepared from his narrative, and entitled, "A Chart of the Wonderful Region of Guyana, discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh."

To the coast of Guyana, the Portuguese, undoubtedly, had a precedent claim as the first discoverers; as they not only were the first to locate themselves on the Essequibo river, but erected a fort upon it; and the grants of this district, subsequently made by England, as belonging to her on the ground of the first discovery by Raleigh, therefore assumed a basis which was not correct. But asserting her right to it on this ground, she admitted the claim made by Raleigh to the borders of the Oronoke, and proved the clear injustice of the punishment which afterward fell upon him.

The Dutch made early settlements also, in Cayenne; but the efforts of the French to possess that country, obliged them to discontinue them. They also commenced them on the river Surinam, which were likewise thwarted by the measures the English took to maintain the colony they had established there, which continued with the bounds, as granted to Lord Willoughby, viz.: from Cayenne to Spanish Guayana, an appendage to England, until the year 1667.

In this year, during the war which then existed between England and Holland, a Dutch fleet of three vessels, under Admiral Cryssen, came to the river Surinam, and ascending it to the English settlement, took the fort, and received the capitulation of the colonists.† In the mean time, England had conquered from the Dutch, their colony of New-Amsterdam, in North America, afterward called the province of New-York, and now one of the United States of America; and by the treaty of peace which was concluded with her and Holland, in 1667, it was agreed, that each Power should retain the conquests it had made; and Surinam was ceded in perpetuity to Holland, and the province of New-Amsterdam was yielded in like manner to England.‡

The colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, formed by the Dutch within the limits of Surinam, now called British Guyana, were ceded to Great Britain, by Holland, for a valuable consideration, by a convention signed at London, thirteenth August, 1814.§

\* Martin's History of British Colonies.

† Hartnack, p. 506.]

‡ Rees's Cyclopædia. Holmes's American Annals.

§ Martin's History of British Colonies.

The fact which I have stated, of the exchange of the province of Surinam for the territory now constituting the State of New-York, may be thought by some incredible; but it is to be considered, that the present colony which bears that name, forms but a part of its bounds, as they were at that period;—which were from Cayenne to Spanish Guyana, comprising an extent of coast of three hundred miles, and extending an equal distance, at least, into the interior, (embracing the portion now called British Guyana,) an area full as large as that of this State. Nor in regard to the value of the country, were the Dutch dissatisfied with the exchange. Guyana, it has been seen, was, during the first part of the seventeenth century, a prize contended for by various European powers. Spain, Portugal, France, England, and Holland, all endeavored to acquire possessions in it. The mineral riches reported to be there, not only the fable of El Dorado, but of mines of gold, gave the first impulse to the desire of Europeans to possess it, and presented it to them for some time as a land of promise. At the period of this exchange, the fable of El Dorado began to die on the ear; the golden city, pursued like an *ignis fatuus*, but never discovered, was at length considered merely an idle tale; and the mines of gold proved not to be so easily found, or when found, not of such certainty as to be much relied on. But the Dutch, who had some years before commenced settlements in Cayenne and Surinam, from which they had been overpowered by the French and English, found there was a richer mine in the fine alluvial soil along the coast of Guyana, well adapted to the cultivation of sugar and coffee; the proof of which was seen in the profitableness of the colonies to Holland, which they formed upon it. But valuable as they are, what a contrast do they afford to the present elevated and flourishing condition of their northern colony, which they surrendered for this territory. They had not the gift of prophecy, to foresee, that over the large expanse of country embraced within its bounds, which extends westward from the Hudson river—then an unbroken wilderness, which they viewed only as the abode of the savage tribes who inhabited it, whose inroads they continually dreaded—streams of population would, in time, in rapid succession spread, subduing the forests, and building up towns and villages without number, accompanied with the comforts, and even refinements of life, which in other countries belong only to an advanced period of their existence; and that before the close of two centuries, their small and feeble colony would become the principal member of an important empire, with a population equal to that which Holland, its parent State, itself possesses.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EXAMINATION OF SEVERAL REMARKABLE RELATIONS MADE BY RALEIGH OF INDIAN TRIBES IN GUYANA AND ITS VICINITY, PARTICULARLY OF A NATION OF FEMALE WARRIORS ON THE AMAZON—SIMILAR RELATIONS MADE BY VARIOUS TRAVELLERS.

I CANNOT close my examination of Sir Walter Raleigh's Narrative of his first expedition to Guyana, without adverting to some other matters contained in it, of a tendency, unexplained, to affect him injuriously. The censure and ridicule which he incurred from the relations he made in it, of the mineral riches of that region and the city of El Dorado, were probably increased by accounts which he gave of some extraordinary tribes in it; one of which, it is certain, contributed greatly to throw discredit on his whole relation—that of the existence in Guyana of a community of female warriors, and is particularly mentioned by Hume in the denunciation he has made of him. On a candid examination, however, of these relations, which I propose to make in the present and succeeding chapter, his character will, I believe, be entirely relieved from any liability to censure in respect to them.

One of these accounts, is that which he gives of a nation called Titi-vivas, inhabiting the numerous islands in the Delta of the Oronoke, whom he thus describes: "In the summer, they have houses on ground as in other places, and in the winter *they dwell upon trees, where they build very artificial towns and dwellings*. They never eat anything that is set or sown. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, &c., for their sustenance. They are, for the most part, makers of canoes, which they sell into Guyana for gold, and into Trinidado for tobacco."\*

But that Sir Walter heard this account, there cannot be any doubt. The people who inhabit these islands are the Guaranos, whom Gumilla thus speaks of: "When their islands are periodically inundated by the rise of the Oronoke, they erect their huts on piles, to be above the water. These huts are made of the mauritia palm, which grows abundantly in these islands, and are covered with the leaves of it. From the fibres of the leaf, they make their hammocks and their cords for fishing, and bow-strings. Around the pulpy shoot that ascends from the trunk, is a web-like integument that serves them for the slight covering they wear. On the productions of this tree, also, they entirely subsist. The pulpy shoot is eaten as cabbage, and the tree bears a fruit like the date, but somewhat larger. When the inundation ceases, the tree is cut down, and

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, vol. 1. p. 215.

being perforated, a palatable juice exudes, from which they make a drink. The interior substance of it is then taken out, and thrown into vessels of water and well washed, and the ligneous fibres being removed, a white sediment is deposited, which, dried in the sun, is made into a very palatable bread.”\*

It is not improbable they formerly lived in the manner that Raleigh describes, if they do not at present; for Humboldt thus speaks of them, but only on report, as he did not descend the Oronoke to its outlet: “During the inundation, they sometimes ascend the mauritia palm-tree, and remain on it while it continues, hanging mats on it, which they fill with earth, and kindle, on a layer of moist clay, the fire necessary for their household wants.”

Thomson, the elegant poet of the ‘Seasons,’ has introduced among his descriptions, an account of the singular mode of life of this people in the following lines:

“Wide o’er his isles, the branching Oronoque  
Rolls a brown deluge, and the native drives  
To dwell aloft on life-sufficing trees,  
At once his dome, his robe, his food, his arms.”

It is not necessary for the defence of Raleigh, to inquire whether the accounts he heard of this nation, and which are confirmed by Humboldt, are correct or not. It is sufficient to prove, in his vindication, that they are not his invention, that so distinguished a traveller as the one just mentioned, has repeated the same.

Nor is the mode of life of these Indians, as described by both, without a parallel.

Herrera observes, that at Maracaybo, on the coast of Venezuela, were houses set upon piles in the water, so that boats could pass under them,† and that Balbao observed, on the shores of the Isthmus of Darien, Indians living on trees above the height of the overflowing waters.‡ He states further, that on the South Sea, in the province of New-Grenada, “were barbarous people who had their houses on trees, because the country is subject to be overflowed; who, at the proper seasons come down to reap and fish, and returned back to their houses to avoid drowning.”§

In the account of the first voyage of discovery, made by Vespucci, there is also mention of a people on the coast of South America, living thus above water. He first saw land on the coast of Brazil, two hundred leagues from Paria, from which he proceeded westward along the coast, often trading, till he came to a place “where he saw a town in the water, much in the same manner as Venice, containing twenty-six large houses, like bells, raised on pillars, with draw-bridges to go from one house to another.” It is probable, indeed, these were the Guaranos, who are described as sometimes having their houses on piles, and sometimes living in trees—as this town is said to be eighty leagues from Paria, which agrees with the distance of the Oronoke from it.

\* *Gumille, Chap. viii.*

† Dec. 6. ch. xxv.

‡ Dec. 6.

§ Dec. 4. ch. I.



Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of the Tibivivas, (or Guaranos,) as for the most part, "makers of canoes, which they sell into Guyana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco." The same account is given of them by very recent writers. Dr. Hancock, who resided some time on the Oronoke, in his 'Observations on Guyana,' says:

"They are skillful makers of canoes, which is their principal employment during the recess of the waters. They construct them on the best model for beauty and safety. The pith of the large branches of the mauritia, divided into thin lamina, furnishes them sails, and the fibres of the leaf, materials for ropes. The famed Spanish launches on the Oronoke are made by them." And another writer says, that "from their skill on the water, and their knowledge of its mouths, they are accustomed to hire themselves as sailors in the colonial craft, and constitute a great majority of the crews."\*

Of the language of this nation, I obtained a vocabulary, taken down by my own hand, which is in the table, Appendix No. III.

A very singular remark is made by Raleigh, respecting this nation, which has not attracted any notice: "The plains of Saymas," (Chaymas, which extend from the Oronoke to Caraccas,) he was informed, "were inhabited by four principal nations: the first, are the Sayma; the second Assawai; the third and greatest, the Wikiri; the fourth are called Aoraras, and are as *black as negroes*." The Guaranos are called by the Charibees, U-ara-u;† and by the European colonists, Worrows; and inhabit not only the islands, but also the adjacent coast. This circumstance mentioned regarding them, is partially confirmed by travellers. Dr. Bancroft, in his History of Guyana, says, "their color is much darker than that of the Charibees." Captain Alexander, in his late Travels, also says, "their color is darker." This was also mentioned to me as a striking peculiarity in their appearance. The relation made by Raleigh, brings to mind a circumstance of which Columbus was informed at Hayti, that black men had come to this island from the south and southwest, the heads of whose javelins were pointed with a sort of metal called *guanin*. Charlevoix conjectures, that "these black people may have come from the Canaries, or the western coast of Africa." But the southern direction from which it is said they arrived, is at variance with this hypothesis, while it agrees with the residence of the Guaranos; and the metal *guanin*, is frequently mentioned by the early voyagers, as found among the Indians on the northern coast of South America, and spoken of as an inferior species of gold; but which was a compound metal, consisting of gold, silver and copper.

The following relation made by Sir Walter Raleigh, was calculated still more to represent him as a dealer in fable and romance.

"Next unto Arvi, (a branch of the Oronoke from the south,) there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora; and on that branch which is called Caora,

\* Mr. Hillhouse's Journal Geog. Soc., of London,

† Humboldt.

(the Caura,) are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders, which, though it may be thought a fable, I am resolved it is true; because every child in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri, affirm the same; they are called Ewaiponama.

"They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts. The son of Topiawari, (the Charibee chief on the Oronoke,) whom I brought with me into England, told me, that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guyana—and when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces."

Lawrence Keymis, who commanded the second expedition made by him, makes a similar relation. A Charibee captain with whom he conversed, on entering the Oronoke, he observes, "certified me of the headless men; and that their mouths in their breasts are exceeding wide. The name of the nation in the Charibee language, is Chiparemai, and the Guyanians call them Ewaipanomos."

It is this account, no doubt, which led the great dramatist of England, to introduce the following passage in the tragedy of Othello, where the Moor, describing to his fair hearer the hardships he had endured, and the wonders he had seen in his travels, speaks,

"Of the Cannibals, who each other eat,  
The Anthropophagi—and of the men whose heads  
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

That Raleigh heard these relations, which is all that is necessary to be proved in regard to his justification, there is, on first view, a decided presumption; for, although in regard to the wealth of Guyana, the great object of his pursuit, he might be led undesignedly to exaggerate, it is wholly improbable he should fabricate so strange a relation, which had no tendency to advance his object; but was rather calculated to injure it, by representing such a deformed nation to be in that region, while it added nothing to the dignity of his narrative, and was altogether uncongenial with his fine genius and elegant taste.

And strange and extraordinary as it is, it is not the first time that wonderful tales have been brought by travellers, from rude and savage nations, which it never has been doubted, were related to them, and the charge of imposture made only against the relators.

Pliny, in his Natural History, lib. vii., has recited the names of a number of nations, in his time, who were said by travellers to be wonderfully deformed. He remarks, India and Ethiopia abound in wonders. Megathenes relates, that in a mountain in India, called Nul, the men have feet turned backward, and eight toes to each foot. Ctesias speaks of several mountains inhabited by men with the head of a dog, covered with the skins of wild beasts, and bark, instead of speaking: also, of a

race of men, who have only one leg, and who leap with surprising agility. They are the neighbors of the Troglodytes: at a little to the west of these are some men *without heads, and who have eyes in their shoulders*.

These marvels, however, are not related by Pliny alone. Herodotus observes, that "the Issidones, who are north of the Scythians, affirm that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins, who are guardians of the gold. In the Scythian tongue, they are called Arimaspians, from *arima*, the Scythian word for one, and *spu*—an eye, (Book 4, ch. 28). The same historian repeats, also, the relation of Pliny, of men in Africa, who had the heads of dogs; and of others, who had their mouths in their breasts." Here, also, he observes, "are the *Cynocephali*, as well as the *Acephali*, who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their mouths in their breasts."\*

In the list of Pliny, it will be seen, is a description of a nation resembling that of which Raleigh has given a relation, viz: "men without heads, and who have eyes in their shoulders," or the *Acephali* of Herodotus. Mr. Beloe, the translator of the Greek historian, in a note, observes: "The *Cynocephali*, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboon, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the *Acephali*, I can give no better account than by copying the ingenious author of *Philosophic Researches* concerning the Americans: "There is," says he, "in Cinnabar, a race of savages who have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial; and to give it to their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebrae of the neck enter, if we may so say, the channel-bone, (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have the mouth in the breast; and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, be taken to be men without heads."

If such accounts are related by ancient writers, it is not wholly incredible, that some of a similar kind may be heard among the American Indians; and if Herodotus and Pliny have thought proper to embody them in their history, it is extraordinary, that Sir Walter Raleigh should have been subject to ridicule for having done the same. But that such a report as he has related, is actually spread, even at the present day, in the region which he visited, is moreover established by the highest evidence—that of Humboldt.

"After ascending the Oronoke, beyond the cataract of Maypures," he observes, "we passed first on the east, the mouth of the Rio Sipapu, called Tipapu by the Indians; and then on the west, the mouth of the Rio Vichadi. The forests of Sipapu are altogether unknown, and there the missionaries place the nation of the Rayas, who have their mouth on the naval. An old Indian, whom we met at Carichana, and who boasted of having often eaten human flesh, had seen these "*Acephali*" with his

own eyes. These absurd fables are spread as far as the Llanos, where you are not always permitted to doubt the existence of the *Raya* Indians. (In a note he observes, they are called *Raya*, on account of the pretended analogy with the fish of that name, the mouth of which seems as if forced below the body.) Beyond the great cataracts an unknown land begins. None of the missionaries who had described the *Oronoke* before me, had passed the raudal of the *Maypures*. We found but three Christian settlements above the Great Cataracts along the shores of the *Oronoke*, in an extent of more than a hundred leagues; and these three establishments contained scarcely six or eight white persons, that is to say, persons of European race. We cannot be surprised that such a desert region should have been, at all times, the classical soil of fable and fairy visions. It is there that grave missionaries have placed nations, with one eye on the forehead, the head of a dog, or the mouth below the stomach." It is there they have found all that the ancients relate of the *Arimaspes* and the *Hyperboreans*. It would be an error to suppose that these simple and rustic missionaries had themselves invented all these exaggerated fictions. They derived them, in a great, part from the recitals of the Indians. These tales of travellers and of monks, increase in improbability in proportion as you increase your distance from the forests of the *Oronoke*, and approach the coasts inhabited by the whites. When at *Cumana*, *New-Barcelona*, and other seaports which have frequent communication with the missions, you betray any incredulity, you are reduced to silence by these few words: "The Fathers have seen it—but far above the great cataracts."

The report of the existence of such a nation may have originated in a custom practiced by some Indians, similar to that of the people of *Cinabar*; for *Ciesca*, an early traveller, speaks of it as found in the provinces of *Cali* and *Quimboya*, in *New-Grenada*, west of the *Andes*, "where they shape the child's head when first it is born, as they please, so that some have no nape of the neck; others the forehead sunk; others very long; which they do with little bands, when they are just born."\*

But it is for the account Sir *Walter Raleigh* has given of a nation of female warriors, existing on the river *Amazon*, that he has been principally charged by his detractors with gross credulity, as a dealer in fable and romance, or with sheer imposture. This account is as follows: "I made inquiry among the most ancient and best-travelled of the *Oronokiponi*," (the name which the *Charibees*, the principal nation on the *Oronoke*, gave themselves,) "respecting the warlike women, and will relate what I was informed of as truth about them, by a *Cacique* who said he had been on that river, (the *Amazon*,) and beyond it also. Their country is on the south side of the river, in the province of *Tobago*, and their chief places are in the islands on the south side of it, some sixty leagues from the mouth, (of the river *Tobago*.) They accompany with men, once in a

\* *Travels in South America*, by *Peter de Ciesca*.

year, for a month, which is in April. The Kings of the Borderers assemble, and the Queens of the Amazons, who first choose their companions, and then the rest cast lots for their valentines. The whole month is spent in feasting, dancing, and drinking; at the end of which, they all depart to their homes. Children born of these alliances, if males, they send them to their fathers; if daughters, they take care of them and bring them up. But that they cut off the right breast, I do not find to be true. I was informed, that if in their wars they took any prisoners, they also accompanied with them for a time, but in the end certainly killed them; for they are said to be very cruel and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. They have also a great quantity of those plates of gold, which are in the form of crescents; which they obtain in exchange for a certain kind of green stones, which the Spaniards call *piedras hijadas*, and we use for spleen-stones.\*

In regard to this account, it is to be observed, in the first place, that whether true or false, Raleigh does not express a belief of it. He seems rather to guard against this being implied, by his observing, "that on this subject I will deliver what has been told me." And it is extraordinary, that he should have been subject to so much censure and ridicule, for publishing relations of this kind, which he had heard from Indians on the Oronoke, as if he were the only one who had ever stated the existence of them in South America. But such reports are almost coeval with the discovery of America. The name of the largest river in the southern continent, I have observed before, derives its name from an account brought by Orellana, its discoverer, of having met with such a nation on its banks. I have related by what circumstances he was induced to leave Pizarro, whom he had accompanied, in his search for El Dorado; that after separating from him, he descended the river Napo, which falls into the Amazon; and at the mouth of it came to a town, where the principal men were dressed in gold plates and jewels. Herrera, from whom the account of his voyage down the Amazon is taken, gives the following particulars learned by him, respecting the existence of such a nation on its banks. He mentions that Orellana heard of it first, at this town, at the mouth of the Napo; that F. Gaspar de Carvajal, who was present, relates, that one of the Caciques "gave intimation of the Amazons, and of the great wealth that was farther down." Leaving this town, he proceeded two hundred and twenty leagues, when he came to another town on the same side of the river—none having been seen before—and afterward to another on the opposite side. Proceeding thus in sight of good towns, the next day four canoes came to the boat, offering provisions. They invited him to see their lord, whose name was Apuria, and said, that if they were going to see the Amazons, whom he called *Coniapuyara*, signifying Great Ladies, they were too few, those women being very numerous. Orellana proceeded down the river about

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, vol. I. pp. 194-195.

five hundred leagues farther, when he landed at a place where the Indians defended themselves with large bucklers; and presently after, on the left hand he saw another river, emptying into the great one, the water of which was as black as ink. (From the distance he had run, and the color of the river, this must be the Rio Negro.) Proceeding on, he passed between very large towns and provinces, taking in provisions. At one town he took an Indian, who said that the Amazons were ladies of the place; and they found a house there, in which were garments made of feathers of various colors, which the Indians wore at their festivals, to dance in. Orellana held on his way, passing through a well-peopled country, stopping occasionally, and meeting with no annoyance from the natives. He then came to a place where the Indians, when he offered them toys by way of barter, made a jest of them; on which he ordered the vessels to steer to the place, and the Indians there shot such a flight of arrows, that they wounded five of the Spaniards, and on their landing fought furiously; which F. Carjaval says, they did as being tributaries of the Amazons; and that he and all the rest saw ten or twelve of them fighting like commanders before the men, so desperately, that these Indians durst not turn their backs; and if any one happened to run away, they beat them to death with cudgels. These women appeared to them very tall, strong-limbed and fair; their hair long, wound about their heads in tresses, stark naked, carrying bows and arrows;—seven or eight of whom the Spaniards killed, upon which the Indians fled. Orellana then passed through a country which he called the province of St. John, extending one hundred and fifty leagues along the coast. Having passed it, he went to rest in a wood of oaks, where he asked a prisoner he had, many questions; and was informed by him, that the country was subject to women, who lived like Amazons, and were very rich in gold and silver, and had five temples of the Sun, plated with gold, the structures of stone; their cities walled; and so many other particulars, says Herrera, that I neither dare believe nor report them.\*

But Orellana is not the only one who has given an account of the existence of such a nation on the Amazon, or its vicinity. Reports of a similar kind have been repeated by a succession of voyagers down this river at great intervals of time, and assigning nearly the same locality to it.

About the same time, a very positive relation of them came from the Spanish territories, south of the Amazon. In 1541, Cabeza de Vega ascended the Paragua, and marched into the country toward Peru, in search of gold. He had sent before him Hernando de Ribeiro, with fifty-two men, in a brigantine, to the lake Xarayes, to make inquiries of the country farther on, and explore the waters. This lake, which, like that of Parima, is a tract of country periodically inundated, is placed between twenty and fifteen degrees of south latitude, and east of the country of the Moxos in Peru. Ribeiro set out on the twentieth December, in a brigan-

\* Herrera, Dec. 4, book 6. ch. iii.

time, to the nation of the *Xarayes*, and was eighteen days going to them. When he arrived there, the chief came out and received him hospitably, and asked what he was in pursuit of; and he answered, gold and silver. Upon this, the chief gave him a few silver trifles and a little plate of gold, saying this was all he had, and he had won it of the *Amazons*—that it was a two months' journey to them, and to reach them then, would be impossible, as the country was inundated. This he did not regard; but, obtaining from the chief, some Indians to carry the baggage of his company, he set out on his march, and eight days they travelled through water up to their middle. They came to the *Siberis*, a tribe having the same language and customs as the *Xarayes*, who told them they would have four days more to travel through water, and then five by land, when they would reach the *Urtueses*. They proceeded, and on the ninth day came to this nation, who told them it was a month's journey to the land of the *Amazons*, and still through floods. But here they found an insuperable obstacle. The locusts had for two succeeding years devoured everything in the country, and plague had followed the famine which they occasioned. No food was to be had. Here some Indians of the adjoining tribes came. They wore coronets after the fashion of Peru, and plates of a metal, which, in *Ribeira's* report, is called *chafalonía*. Of these people, the *Spaniards* renewed their inquiries respecting the *Amazons*. *Ribeiro* solemnly swears, that they told him of a nation of women, governed by a woman, and so warlike as to be dreaded by all their neighbors; they possessed plenty, both of the white and yellow metal; their seats and all the utensils in their houses were made of them. They lived on the western side of a large lake, which they called the *Mansion of the Sun*, because the sun sunk into it.\*

Another confirmation of the account of *Orellana*, was given by *D'Acugna*, who, a century after him, in 1639, descended the *Amazon* from Peru, in search of the country of gold, or *El Dorado*, as I have already related, and who expresses his belief, in the most positive manner, in the existence of this community of female warriors.

"The proofs," he remarks, "that give assurance that there is a province of the *Amazons* on the banks of this river, are so strong and convincing, that it would be renouncing moral certainty to scruple giving credit to it. I do not build upon the solemn examinations of the sovereign court of *Quito*, in which many witnesses were heard, who were born in these parts, and lived there a long time, and who, of all matters relating to the countries bordering on Peru, as one of the principal, particularly affirmed that one of the provinces near the *Amazon* is peopled with a sort of warlike women, who live together and maintain their government alone, without the company of men; but at certain seasons of the year, seek their society to perpetuate their race. Nor will I insist on other information, obtained in the new kingdom of *Grenada*, in the

\* *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, ed. vi. pp. 126—129.

royal city of Pasto, where several Indians were examined; but I cannot conceal what I have heard with my own ears, and concerning the truth of which, I have been making inquiries from my first embarking on the Amazon; and am compelled to say, that I have been informed at all the Indian towns in which I have been, that there are such women in the country, and every one gave me an account of them by marks so exactly agreeing with that which I received from others, that it must needs be that the greatest falsehood in the world passes throughout all America for one of the most certain histories. But the most distinct information of the province where they reside, and their customs, was obtained in the last village which makes their frontier town, between them and the Tupinambas. (The Tupinambas inhabit an island, which commences about two degrees below Rio Negro.) Thirty-six leagues below their last village, as you descend the river, another stream enters it from the north side, which comes from the very province of the Amazons; which river is called Cunuris, from the Indians who dwell upon it nearest its mouth. Above them on it, are the Apotoos; next to them, are the Tagaris; and above these, are the Guacares, who are the people that have intercourse with these valiant women. These women are very courageous, and have always maintained themselves alone, without the help of men. When their neighbors visit them at a time appointed by them, they receive them with their bows and arrows in their hands, and exercise them as if about to engage with enemies; but, knowing their object, they lay them down and receive them as their guests, who remain with them a few days. They never fail to make this visit once a year, at an appointed time. The children that are born from this yearly intercourse, if girls, are brought up by the mothers, and instructed by them in the use of arms, as well as inured to labor. As to the male children, it is not certain what they do with them. I saw an Indian, who told me that, when he was a child, he accompanied his father on one of these visits, and assured me that they gave their male children to their fathers on the next occasion of their visiting them. But the common report is, that they kill all their males as soon as they are born.”\*

Another account of them was given by F. Cyprian Bazarre, a Jesuit missionary, at the close of the seventeenth century. He performed his labors among the Tapacuras, who formerly were part of the nation of the Moxos; but dissensions among them induced them to separate and remove to a country about twenty leagues distant, toward a long chain of mountains—through whom he obtained some knowledge of the Amazons. They all informed him, that eastward was a nation of warlike women, who, at certain seasons of the year, admitted men among them, and killed all the males who were born, but brought up the females with the utmost care, and inured them early to the toils of war. The country where this writer was informed they were, to the eastward of the Moxos, was in the

\* *Voyages and Discoveries in South America.* By Christopher D'Acugna, London, 1698.



direction in which Ribeiro, from the information he received, sought them from Paraguay.\*

The voyage made by Condamine down the Amazon, in 1744 and 1745, furnished another strong confirmation of the existence of such a community in South America. "He interrogated, he observes, in the course of his voyage, everywhere, Indians of different nations, and all told him that they had heard their fathers speak of them, adding a thousand particulars, all tending to establish the fact of there being in South America a republic of women, living without men; and that they have removed to the north by the Rio Negro, or by some other northern branch of the Amazon. . . . An Indian of St. Joachim told him, that he should, perhaps, find at Coari an old man, whose father had seen the Amazons. He learnt at Coari that he was dead; but he spoke to his son Punilha, who appeared seventy years of age, and who commanded the other Indians of the same village. He assured him, that his grandfather had actually seen these women pass the mouth of the river Cuchivara; that they came from the mouth of the Cayamé, on the south side, between Tefe and Coari; that he spoke to four of them, one of whom had a child at the breast, and mentioned the name of each of them. He added, that in leaving Cuchivara, they crossed the Grand river and passed up the Rio Negro. Below Coari, the Indians everywhere told him the same things, with some variety in the circumstances, but all agreed in the principal point. Among the Topayos, he found certain green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stone; and they told him they inherited them of their fathers, and that those had them of the *cognan tainse couma*; that is to say, in their language, *women without husbands*, among whom, they add, they are found in great quantity.

Thirty years after Condamine, (in 1774,) M. Ribeiro, a Portuguese astronomer, who traversed the Amazon and the tributary streams which run into it on the north side, confirmed, on the spot, all that he had advanced.† He found a man who well remembered Punilha, who said that "he had heard the same account from him, (and he was a native of Cuchivara,) and affirmed that it was a received tradition there, that they had passed that place on their way to the north, as Condamine was informed." These accounts Ribeiro collected with so much more impartiality, as he expressly avows his disbelief of the existence of such a community in South America.‡

The account which Condamine gives of their having passed to the north, is confirmed by other travellers. D'Acugna, it has been seen, speaks of there being in his time, in the country north of the Amazon, on the river Cunuris, at the head of which are the Guacares, who are the nation that have intercourse with them. It is remarkable that Sir Walter Raleigh says, "there is a province in Guyana called Cunuris, which is governed by a woman." A more recent writer, Gili, a missionary on

\* Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits.

† Humboldt's Pers. Nar.

‡ Southey's Hist. of Brazil.

the Oronoke, cited by Humboldt, makes the following most positive statement on this subject: "Upon inquiring of a Quaqua Indian, what Indians inhabited the Cuchivero, he named to me the Achirigotoas, the Pajuroas, and the Aikeambenanoes. Well acquainted with the Tamanac tongue, I instantly comprehended the sense of this last word, which is a compound, and signifies *women living alone*. The Indian confirmed my observation, and related that the Aikeambenanoes were a community of women, who fabricated long sarbacans and other weapons of war. They admit, once a year, the men of the neighboring nation of Vokearoes into their society, and send them back with presents of sarbacans. All the male children born in this horde of women, are killed in their infancy."\* These Vokearoes are, perhaps, the Guacares of D'Acugna.

It thus appears that the relation made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his Narrative, of a report existing in South America, of a nation of female warriors there, has been confirmed in the amplest manner by various voyagers on the Amazon; and by a missionary on the Oronoke, the river on which he obtained his information. It appears, also, that Condamine, one of the relaters, places them in the same locality which he gives to them. "Their country," says Raleigh, "is on the south side of a river in the province of Tobago. They have a great quantity of plates of gold, which they obtain in exchange for certain green stones, which the Spaniards call *piedras hijadas*, or spleen-stones." And Condamine remarks, "among the Topayos, (the river Topayos, which gives name to the people, falls into the Amazon on the south side, one hundred and fifty leagues above Para,) he found certain green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stone; and that they had them of the Cougnantainsecouma, or women without husbands, among whom they are found in great quantity." Ribeiro, also, in his journey from Paraguay, was informed by the Xarayas, among whom he saw plates of gold, that "they obtained them from the Amazons:" and Raleigh says, "the Amazons received these plates of gold in exchange for their green stones."

\* Humboldt's Pen. Nar.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUBJECT OF THE AMAZONS CONTINUED—RELATIONS HEARD BY THE AUTHOR IN GUYANA, RESPECTING THEM—OPINIONS OF DIFFERENT WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT—ACCOUNT OF THE GREEN STONES, THEIR PECULIAR ORNAMENT—PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THIS NATION.

THE reader will, I have no doubt, be desirous to know, whether in Guyana—a country which the Orinoco and Amazon border, and into which such reports, if they existed, would unavoidably spread—they have at any time been heard. The subject did not escape my attention during my residence there, and I will state, with the utmost exactness, all that I learned on the subject. In perusing the Narrative of Raleigh, the extraordinary relation made by him, now under consideration, did not, at first, receive from me more than a passing notice; having adopted the opinion of others, that it was a marvellous tale of the Indians, which he too readily believed. None of the relations of a similar kind, by other travellers in South America, which have been mentioned, had been seen by me—although I was aware that Orellana had given the name of Amazon to the river discovered by him, from having heard, as he relates, that such a nation was upon it. At that time, however, I had in my possession the voyage of Condamine; and in perusing it, was much struck with the positive manner in which he states having received accounts in various quarters of the existence of such a community on that river or its vicinity, and particularly, with the following passage, in which he assigns a locality to it, different from that before given.

“An Indian of Mortigura, a mission near Para, offered to show him a river, by which he said ‘one might ascend to a small distance of the country inhabited by the Amazons,’ which he called ‘the Irijo,’ and which empties into the Atlantic, between Macapa and the North Cape, (this is a part of the coast between the Amazon and Cayenne;) and an old soldier of the garrison at Cayenne, who was then living near the falls of the river Oyapoke, assured him that a detachment to which he belonged, sent into the interior to explore the country, in 1726, penetrated among the Amiouanes, or nation with long ears, who dwell above the sources of the Oyapoke, and near those of another river which passes into the Amazon; and that there they had seen on the necks of their wives and daughters, the same green stones of which I have spoken; and having asked the Indians where they obtained them, they answered, that ‘they came from the women who had no husbands, and whose country was seven or eight days farther to the west.’”

"All these testimonies, and others, that I have omitted," adds Condamine, "as well as those of which mention is made, in the informations made in 1726, and since by two Spanish Governors of the province of Venezuela, (Don Diego Portales and Don Francisco Torralva,) agree, in substance, upon the fact of the existence of these Amazons; but, what deserves not less attention, is, that while these different relations designate the retreat of the Amazons, some toward the east, some toward the north, and others toward the west—all these different directions meet in one centre, which is the mountains in the interior of Guyana; and in a district where neither the Portuguese of Para, nor the French of Cayenne, have hitherto penetrated."\*

This account, pointing to a country in which I was then residing, could not fail strongly to arrest my attention, and to lead me to make some inquiries on that subject, when a favorable opportunity occurred. The first which presented itself, was in the interview which I had with Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, at the head of the Essequibo river, and none could be more suitable. The branch of the Charibees to which he belonged, he informed me, are the Teyrous (Tairas,) of Cayenne. He had a son living there, and a communication is maintained between the Charibees of that country and those on the Essequibo. I inquired of him whether he had ever heard of such a nation, to which he replied, as follows: "He had not seen them, but had heard his father and others speak of them. That they live on the Wasa. Their place of abode is surrounded with large rocks, and the entrance is through a rock. That when in their journeys they capture a man, they convey him home, and shut him up in a cabin, before the door of which they place a heap of sand, that it may be known if any one has entered it. If they discover him with a woman they kill him. That the Charibees on the river Mariwin are those who associate with them, whose name is Teyrous, (the branch to which his family belongs.)"

This relation of the Charibee chief is extremely interesting. The situation of the river Wasa I did not inquire of him, but I was aware that it must be in Cayenne, from the Mariwin being stated to be near it. On examining, afterward, a map of Guyana, I found the river Ouassa (according to the French orthography,) to be actually a branch of the Oyapoke, on which river it was that the old soldier, who gave Condamine information of the Amazons, resided; and who said they lived seven or eight days' journey west from the Amiouanes, or nation with long ears, who dwell above the sources of it.

This nation, among whom the veteran saw the green stones, which the women without husbands wore, and who obtained them from them, it appears, from the account of Harcourt's voyage to this river in 1608, were Charibees; and who also states, that there was a great number of this great-eared nation on the Mariwin—and, again, that most of the Indians on this river were Charibees.† The account of Condamine thus agrees

\*C nodamine, pp. 102–103.

† Purchas's Coll., Book VI., ch. xvi., p. 205.

with the relation of Mahanerwa, that the Charibees of the Mariwin are the Indians who associate with the women without husbands. The sources of this river are in the same mountainous country in the interior of Cayenne, as those of the Oyapoke; but by the turning of the coast, while the Mariwin flows from south to north, the Oyapoke runs from southwest to northeast.

Arewya, the son-in-law of Mahanerwa, in a separate conversation I had with him, also said he had heard of this nation; that the Charibees of Cayenne are the Indians with whom they associate, who visit them one by one; that the entrance to their country is through an arched rock. I give this relation as I heard it. In the words of Martyr, I say, "*hec dant hec accipito.*" But, although not vouching for its truth, I think it proper to add the following passage from the Mariwin Inquirer: "The passage to the head of the Mariwin, from the men with long ears, (which is the thirteenth town from the mouth,) is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concave rocks, wherein harbor bats of an unreasonable bigness, which, with their claws and wings, do wound the passengers shrewdly; yea, and oftentimes deprive them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very dark, for the rocks are close about and fashioned like an Indian house,) they are forced to make great fires in their canoes, and put over their heads some of their crab-baskets, to defend them from the force of their claws and wings."\*

On my return to the post, I conversed on the subject with the Indian agent, and he said there was certainly such a nation in the *interior of British Guyana*, within the limits of his agency, and that he once made a report of them to the Governor of the colony, and the number was about five hundred. His wife, who was present, added an account she had received of them from a Macoussie Indian, describing them, with many particulars, but much in the same manner as other accounts of the Amazons, and who said their abode was at the sources of the Mazerouni, which are in the mountains of Parima. These accounts place them in a different locality. On passing down the river, I stopped at the plantation of Mr. De G——, protector of the Indians—whose testimony I have once or twice produced on other subjects—and on stating to him what had been told me, and inquiring his opinion respecting it, he said he had been informed by an Indian, that such a nation exists somewhere in the interior of Cayenne; that they are visited by men once a year; their country is surrounded with rocks, and the entrance to it by a stream through an opening in them, by which you pass into a wide open country. This relation conforms to that heard by Condamine, and that given to me by the Charibee chief.

I omit several other accounts I received of this nation, and will only mention the two following:

A native of the country, partly of Indian extraction, residing on the Demerara river stated to me positively that such a people existed; that

\* Furdus, Book 6, ch. xvii.

the brother of the relater had been to them many times, and once brought from them a green stone three inches in length; that their name is Wirisamoca; they work their own grounds, shoot the bow and arrow, and use the blow-pipe, (sarbacan;) hold no intercourse with other Indians; their male infants they kill. They told him to tell the men of his nation and other Indians, that they might visit them once a year, but not more than twenty at a time.

This account, it will be perceived, remarkably coincides with the relations generally given of this community. But the most interesting fact in it is the name Wirisamoca, by which they are called, which was not translated for me; but having previously made a vocabulary of the Charibee language, I found that *woree*, or *wooresan*, as I spelt the word, signified in it *women*. In one prepared by Biet, in Cayenne, I find *awwig* to signify *alone*, and from the various modes in which a word is pronounced by different branches of this nation, *amoc* or *amoca* may be the same word; and thus Wirisamoca would signify *women alone*, which is the same meaning as Aikeambenances, the name in the Tamanae tongue by which, Gili says, the Amazons, on the Cuchivero, are called. The particular locality of the Wirisamocas I did not inquire, but from the circumstance stated, that they use the blow-pipe, or sarbacan, it seems probable that it is in the mountains of Parima; for these instruments are all obtained from the Macoussies, one of the tribes there, who are the sole manufacturers of them in British Guyana. This locality would agree with that mentioned to me as their residence at the Indian post, on the Essequibo.

The other account, which I will relate, was received from a very different source. Subsequent to this time, I was informed there was in the possession of a gentleman of Demerara, a journal made by a person who had resided some time in the far interior of the colony, among the Indian nations. I was desirous of seeing it, not with the least reference to the present subject, but from a wish generally to obtain some information of that unknown region. He was by name James Glenn, a native of Scotland, and who had been a non-commissioned officer in the British army. He appears to have had some advantages of education, and had a taste for natural history. His journal is interspersed with remarks on subjects relating to it, and it was from that I obtained the Indian names for twenty-nine species of honey-bees in Guyana, which I have mentioned in my remarks on lake Parima. Of this journal I had only a hasty perusal, on a visit I made to the gentleman who had it, and made but a few extracts from it. The following remarks respecting the Indians, which I took from it, I have thought worth presenting here, as connected with the fact I have just related, and as exhibiting the character of the writer. I copy them literally.

"Of every circumstance attending these nations, nothing strikes me with more wonder and admiration than the difference of language; for most of them are radically and essentially different even from their next neighbors, with whom they associate. Now, as to invent a language

exceeds the powers of the human mind, a question here naturally arises, from whence comes this variety and difference of languages among tribes totally ignorant of letters? for there is not an animal, vegetable, mineral, or meteor that they have not a name for; if not a specific or distinct name, yet a name for the genus or kinds;—but I defy Linnaeus or his disciples to specify animals, especially, more particularly and descriptive, than many, perhaps all, of these nations do. Europeans, or civilized nations, fall very far short of these Indian nations in this important article of natural history; that is, so far as their own clime and soil presents to their observation and experience.”

Another extract, which I made from his journal, was the following “List of nations which inhabit Guyana:”

“On all the rivers emptying into the Atlantic, are the Warow, Arro-wack, Charibes, Ackoways, and several branches of the last. On the Oronoke, Mahanaos, Maipurian, Wyado, Dobuli, (Charibes,) Awani, Parawyaddo, Akuriya, Kamoya, Waiki, Waikiri, Karianna.”

He then mentions the following nations as belonging to the Essequibo, by which, from comparing his list with other accounts, and his mentioning some on other rivers, he must mean those which are nearer to it than the Oronoke.

“Paramuna, } branches of Ackoways.  
 Kamaranai, }  
 Yakanaiama, on the Parima.  
 Macoussie.  
 Atorays.  
 Arekuna, branch of Macoussies.  
 Wapesana.  
 Sabora, on the Parima.  
 Quarin.  
 Uresan.  
 Quabianotto, (Portuguese) on the Karibis.  
 Itali.  
 Piannakotto, on the Karibisse, branch of the Corentine.  
 Karayou.  
 Makei.”

After this list, he makes the following remarks:

“The last thirteen are mountaineers, dwelling in far among the high and rocky inlands.

“Urisan and Utilli, do never go to war. All the rest are warlike nations.

“The Querin dwell on the very highest mountains; are large and tall men, but hospitable and kind to friends.

“*The Urisan are all women—use bow and arrow like the other Indians. Their male infants they kill.*”

This passage, giving unexpectedly a further account of the nation of female warriors, greatly surprised me; and the interest it produced, was

increased by the fact, that Urisan is, in the Charibee language, as I have already observed, *women*; and this, the writer does not appear to be aware of. This nation is also introduced in the list in a simple, artless manner, without any reference to the reported Amazons. As it cannot be supposed, therefore, that the name he gives to them was invented by him, the conclusion seems to be unavoidable—whether he saw the Urisans, or gives an account of them only on hearsay—that a nation denominated “the women,” which must denote a community consisting entirely of females, was spoken of in that region by the Indians, as one of the tribes inhabiting it.

In regard to their locality, it corresponds with that which was given to me at the Indian post, as the residence of “the women without husbands.”

A serious difficulty, however, exists, in crediting this and the other accounts which place this nation of “women alone” in the mountains of Parima, that Mahanerwa, the Charibee chief, did not mention them to me. This may perhaps be removed by the fact stated by James Glenn, that they dwell in “far among the high and rocky inlands;” and it is evident, that the Charibee chief had no particular curiosity regarding “the Amazons;” for, although he heard from his father of such a nation being in Cayenne, who associated with the same branch of the Charibees to which his family belonged, yet it appears he never made any inquiries about them.

The different locations assigned to “the Amazons,” by the several relations I have given—part placing them in the interior of Cayenne, and another in the mountains of Parima—is also a difficulty to overcome in crediting them. The discrepancy might produce a hesitation which to adopt, or lead to a conclusion that none of them should be relied on. As my purpose is not to prove the existence of such a community, but in justification of Raleigh, to show that relations to that effect are heard in Guyana—which has, I believe, been fully accomplished—the determination of these questions I might leave to the reader. I may add, however, that perhaps the nation related as being on the Oyapoke, in Cayenne, has removed, or, it is possible there may be two nations or companies of “the Amazons.” From the explicit and decided testimony of Condamine, so particularly confirmed by the Charibee chief, it seems that it cannot be doubted, if such a nation exists anywhere, it is to be found in the interior of Cayenne—unless it has removed; for this chief only spoke of them as existing there in the time of his father. But Gili, a missionary, heard of a nation of the same kind, on the Cuchi-vero, a branch of the Oronoke, and expresses his entire belief in its existence: and the learned author of Mithridates, thinks his testimony too strong to be rejected. May not the latter tribe have passed across Guyana to the region of Parima? I have shown that several nations of the Oronoke, are probably now between the sources of the Branco and Essequibo. It is remarkable that the circumstance mentioned of *the Wirisamocas*, that they use long sarbacans, is also related of the



Aikeambenanoes of Gili. Condamine also speaks of two branches; one of whom as living at the sources of the Oyapoke, and the other as having crossed the river Amazon, and gone up the Rio Negro.

In regard to the opinions which have been entertained by others, on the general subject of the existence of such a nation in South America, it has been seen that Orellana, D'Acugna, and Condamine, not only in the most positive manner state that they heard accounts of the kind over and over again, but likewise avow their full belief in them. The latter, in addition to what I have before cited from him, remarks: "I am well aware that the Indians of South America are great falsifiers, credulous, fond of the marvellous; but none of them had ever heard of the ancient Amazons of Diodorus and Justin—and this nation of women without husbands, was spoken of, among the Indians of South America, before the Spaniards had penetrated there—and it has been mentioned since among those who had never before seen Europeans, as is shown by the advice given by the Cacique to Orellana, as well as the traditions reported by D'Acugna and Baraze. Can it be believed, that savages of countries the most distant from each other, should have concurred in imagining the same fact, without any foundation for it; and that this pretended fable should have been adopted so uniformly, and so universally at Maynas, at Para, at Cayenne, and at Venezuela, among so many nations, and who have no intercourse together?"\*

Other writers, who have commented on the testimonies produced by these voyagers, have likewise given their assent to the conclusions they have drawn from them. Professor Vater, in his learned work *Mithridates*, inclines to the belief of the "*Solle Donne*," of Gili; as he thinks his testimony is one which is not to be disregarded. Carli, an Italian writer, who has attentively examined American Antiquities, does not hesitate to express his entire belief in the existence of such a community. Southey, in his *History of Brazil*, thus expresses himself on the subject: "The testimony of Orellana and his Dominican vouchers, might be doubted; but there is not the least reason for doubting the veracity of Acugna. He certainly heard what he has related. When Condamine came down the same river, in 1743, he omitted no opportunity of inquiring into the truth of the story. From all the various tribes along its course, he heard the same story, and all agreed that these women had retired up the country by the Rio Negro, or one of the streams which flowed in the same direction. These accounts agreed, from whatever quarter they came, in placing the Amazons in the heart of South America—which no Europeans had, at any time, explored. Other accounts, obtained afterwards, by two of the Governors of Venezuela, point to the same centre. The reports which the Spaniards heard in Paraguay, assigned them a very different situation; but it must be remembered, that if they removed from that situation to the country which has since been represented as their abode, Cochinvara, where they are so positively

\* Condamine, p. 108.

said to have been, is in the direct line of their emigration. The evidence in favor of the existence of this race of warlike women, is too strong and coherent to be lightly disbelieved. Had we never heard of the Amazons of antiquity, I should, without hesitation, believe in those of America. Their existence is not the less likely for that reason; and yet it must be admitted, that the probable truth is made to appear suspicious by its resemblance to a known fable." This opinion of the celebrated writer, is entitled to greater weight, as it was prompted by no partiality to Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as has been seen, has received from him unqualified censure, in regard to his account of El Dorado.

Another eminent writer, Humboldt, on a review of all the testimony on the subject, which had been published, has expressed a similar opinion; which was not seen by me until two years after I received, in Guyana, the relations I have given.

"We found," he observes, "in the possession of the Indians of the Rio Negro, some of those green stones, known by the name of the Amazon stones—because the natives pretend, according to an ancient tradition, that they came from the country of the women without husbands, (*Cougnan-tainse-couma*,\*) or women living alone, (*Aikeambenano*.†) The history of the jade, or green stones of Guyana, is intimately connected with that of the warlike women, whom the travellers of the sixteenth century named the Amazons of the New World. M. de la Condamine has produced many testimonies in favor of this tradition. Since my return from the Oronoke and the river Amazon, I have often been asked, at Paris, whether I embraced the opinion of that learned man. This is the place for me to express myself with frankness, on a tradition which has so romantic an appearance—and I am farther led to do this, by M. de la Condamine's assertion, that the Amazons of the river Cayenne, crossed the Maragnon to establish themselves on the Rio Negro. A taste for the marvellous, together with a wish to adorn the descriptions of the new Continent with some features drawn from classic antiquity, has, no doubt, contributed to give great importance to the first narratives of Orellana.

Sir Walter Raleigh had a less poetic aim. He sought to fix the attention of Queen Elizabeth on the great empire of Guyana, the conquest of which he proposed to the Government. He gave the description of the rising of that gilded King, (*El Dorado*), whose chamberlains, furnished with long sarbacans, blew powdered gold every morning on his body, after having rubbed it over with aromatic oils; but nothing could be better adapted to strike the imagination of Queen Elizabeth, than the warlike republic of women, without husbands, who resisted the Castilian heroes. I point out the motives which led those writers, who have given most reputation to the Amazons of America, to exaggerate; but these motives do not, I think, suffice, for rejecting a tradition entirely, which is spread among various nations who have no communication with each other. The testimonies collected by M. de la Condamine, are very

\* *Of Condamine.*

† *Of Gili.*

remarkable. He has published them in detail, and I have a pleasure in adding, that if this traveller has passed in France and England for a man whose curiosity was most constantly awake, he is considered in Quito—in the country he described—as the traveller who has adhered most steadfastly to truth. Thirty years after M. de la Condamine, a Portuguese astronomer, M. Riberio, who has traversed the Amazon and the tributary streams which run into that river on the northern side, has confirmed, on the spot, all that the learned Frenchman had advanced. He found the same traditions among the Indians; and he collected them with so much the greater impartiality, as he did not himself believe that the Amazons formed a separate horde. Not knowing anything of the tongues spoken on the Oronoke and the Rio Negro, I could learn nothing certain on the popular traditions of women without husbands, and on the origin of the green stones. I shall, however, recite a testimony of some weight, that of Father Gili, (which I have already related.) What must we conclude from the narrative of the ancient missionary of Encaramada? not that there are Amazons, on the banks of the Cuchivero, but that women in different parts of America, wearied with the state of slavery in which they were held by the men, united themselves together like the fugitive negroes in a palenque, (*staccado*;) that the desire of preserving their independence, rendered them warriors; and that they received visits from a neighboring and friendly horde, perhaps a little less methodically than tradition relates.” [Pers. Nar., vol. 5.]

In the remarks made in the above extract, on Sir Walter Raleigh, it is seen that Humboldt imputes to him a desire to exaggerate in the account he has given of this community. But I think it will appear on a more attentive examination, to be the most simple, artless, and unprejudiced of all the different narratives that have been made. No embellishment, or coloring, is given to it, no desire to assimilate them to the Amazons of antiquity. On the contrary, Raleigh expressly disclaims the resemblance, adding: “that they cut off the right breast, I do not find to be true.” And so far from expressing his positive belief in their existence, he merely states, that he relates what he had heard. “I made inquiry among the most ancient and best-travelled of the Oronokoconi, respecting these women, and will relate what I was informed of as truth about them, by a Cacique.”

Numerous, however, as the testimonies may be, in favor of a supposed fact, its character may be such as to give it so great a degree of improbability, that doubt will still attend it. The object of this examination being only to show that such relations have been made, and not to verify them—which it is believed has been sufficiently attained in the remarks already made—I might here close the subject; but still it may be a matter of curiosity to inquire, whether the existence of such a community is so improbable, that no amount of evidence will render it credible; or whether there are any circumstances which may have given rise to it. In examining this subject, we are to view this nation as they are generally

represented by those who have spoken of it, divested of appendages which some have added to it—probably to assimilate them to the ancient Amazons—such as that of cutting off the right breast, and their living in a state of perfect separation from the other sex, and not that they associated with them only at periodical seasons.

From the latter circumstance, attributed to them, Ribeiro, the Portuguese astronomer, who has himself collected testimonies in support of their reality, considers the whole as a fable. He maintains, that no community of women could possibly be induced to live apart from men. But to this, Southey replies: "He must have studied history and observed mankind to little purpose, who has not learned, that political institutions, whatever may be their power of exalting human nature, are capable of moulding, perverting, and even extinguishing, its instincts. The argument also, if it were true—which I absolutely deny—would apply to the nunneries of his own nation—not to the Amazons who had, like birds, their yearly mating time."

The account given by most of those who have spoken of them, is simply this. There is on the river Amazon, or in Guyana, a nation of women, who use the bow and arrow, and other warlike weapons—cultivate their grounds, and live separate from the other sex; but are visited annually by the males of some particular tribe, with whom they associate; and that the daughters born, are brought up by them. In regard to the sons, the relations vary; some saying they are killed, others, that they are given to their fathers.

In regard to the different circumstances mentioned in this relation, some of them it will not be difficult to suppose real. 1. As to the warlike character of these females. This there can be no difficulty in giving credit to. Abundant testimonies can be produced to show, that this was the character of females in various nations of the new hemisphere. Columbus, on his second voyage of discovery, encountered at St. Croix a canoe, in which, among the Indians, were some women, who fought as well as the men. And at Guadaloupe, he saw on the beach an array of armed females, prohibiting his landing. Of these islands, and others inhabited by the same nation, Martyr remarks; "Both sexes possess great power, from the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. When their husbands are at any time absent from their homes, their wives protect themselves from injurious aggressions, in a manly manner."\* The females of the continental Charibees, possessed the same character. The same writer observes, "in the bloody struggles which they made against the Spaniards, the women, after the death of their husbands, defended themselves with such desperation that they were taken for Amazons."† I was informed, on the Essequibo river, that in the wars which the Charibees of that river formerly carried on, their wives accompanied them, and not only used the bow and arrow, but also the war-club.

\* Herrera, Dec. 2.

† Herrera, Dec. 1, book iii., ch. i.

2. In regard to their cultivation of the ground. To this employment, females universally, among the native tribes both of North and South America, are trained. It is their appropriate and exclusive province. On their labors in the fields, the whole tribe relies for a supply of the productions of the earth. With the cultivation of them; the men have no concern; whose duties are confined to the procural of game, by hunting and fishing. The only circumstance in the above account which is of a marvellous character, and difficult to be believed, is, that this tribe of females should prefer to live separate from the other sex, as an independent nation, and resolutely oppose uniting with them, though they allowed of occasional visits from them, to perpetuate their community. The following explanation has been given of it by several writers: "The existence of such a tribe," says Southey, "would be honorable to our species, inasmuch as it must have originated in resistance to oppression. The lot of women is usually hard among savages. The females of one horde may have perpetrated what the Danaïdes are said to have done before them, but from a stronger provocation; and if, as is not unfrequent, they had been accustomed to accompany them to battle, there is nothing that can even be thought improbable to their establishing themselves as an independent race; and securing, by such a system of life, that freedom for their daughters, which they had obtained for themselves."

This explanation, it has been seen, has also been given by Humboldt; Condamine, before, took the same view. "All," he observes, "that is necessary to establish is, the existence in America of a tribe of women, who never had any men living in their society. The other customs, particularly that of cutting off the breast, which d'Acugna attributes to them, are accessory circumstances, which have probably been altered or added by Europeans, to assimilate them to the Amazons of Asia. . . In fact, it is not said that the Cacique, who informed Orellana of the Amazons, whom he calls Coniapuyaras, mentioned the excised breast; and an Indian of Coari, whose grandfather saw four Amazons, one of whom had an infant at her breast, does not speak of this circumstance, too striking not to be remarked. If the impossibility of their existence is alleged, I will content myself with remarking, that if ever there could have been Amazons in the world, it is in America, where the women follow their husbands to war; and being not happier at home, the idea may have been suggested to their minds, to whom frequent opportunities offered, to shake off the yoke of their husbands, and seek to form an establishment where they might recover their independence, and at least not be reduced to the condition of slaves and beasts of burden."\*

Another reason may be given for the existence of such a community. When a tribe engaged in war was conquered, and the males all slain; their wives, who accompanied them, and were accustomed to the use of arms, may have rallied, returned upon the foe, repulsed them, and continued ever after an independent horde.

\* Condamine, pp. 106—108.

But, although both these explanations may be sufficient to explain the *origin* of such a tribe, some other reason must be found to account for the fact of their never having been subdued by any other nation, but suffered to remain in their separate state—particularly as to those reported to be now in Guyana, that they have not been conquered and their community broken up by the Charibees, a nation whose warlike spirit prompted them to the subjugation of all the tribes around them, wherever they extended themselves—among whom polygamy prevails—who pride themselves on the number of their wives, and whose wars are frequently undertaken to obtain an addition to them. Yet it is with this very nation, as the Charibee chief on the Essequibo stated, that they associate.

A solution of this singular circumstance—if in reality such a nation exists—will, I believe, be found in those green stones which they possess. I have observed, that Humboldt found them among the Indians on the Rio Negro. "They are worn there," he says "suspended from the neck as amulets; because, according to popular belief, they preserve the wearer from nervous complaints, fevers, and the sting of venomous serpents. Thus they have been for ages an article of trade, both on the north and on the south of the Oronoke. The Charibees made them known on the coast of Guyana. . . . The form given to them most frequently, is that of the Persapolitan cylinder, longitudinally perforated, and loaded with inscriptions and figures. The substance of which they are composed, belongs to the saussurite—to the real jade. It takes a fine polish and passes from apple green to emerald green. It is translucent at the edges, extremely tenacious, and sonorous to such a degree, that being formerly cut by the natives into very thin plates, perforated at the centre and suspended by a thread, it yields an almost metallic sound."

These green stones are also worn by the Charibees, and are the most highly valued of all their ornaments. They were formerly frequently met with in Demerara, but now rarely; where they were called *Macuaba*, or *Calicot* stone. One of them is in my possession. Their common form there is, as described by Humboldt, cylindrical and perforated. Biet relates, that in Cayenne a number of them are strung together and worn as a necklace. But they are sometimes made in the form of fishes and other animals; and we now discover whence they were obtained. But where did the women living alone obtain them? "We are told," says Humboldt, "at San Carlos, on the Rio Negro and in the neighboring villages, that the sources of the Oronoke east of Esmeralda; and in the missions of the Caroni and at Angustura, that the sources of the Caroni are the native spots of the green stone."\* Both these directions point to the mountains of Parima, where two of the relations made to me respecting this female nation, place them. Humboldt again observes: "In the rocky dike that crosses the Oronoke, forming the Randal of the Guahariboes, Spanish soldiers pretend to have found the fine kind of saussurite (Amazon stone) of which we have spoken. This tradition is, however,

\* Humboldt's *Pes. Nar.* vol. 5, p. 306.

uncertain ; and the Indians whom I interrogated on this subject, assured me that the green stones, called *pedras de macagua* at Esmeralda, were purchased from the Guiacas and Guaharibos who traffic with the hordes much farther to the east ;" (which must be the nations about the sources of the Essequibo.)

It is worthy of remark, that the name of these stones on the Oronoke is *macagua*, and in Demerara, *macauba*—which is probably the same word. But the region of Parima does not appear to be the native place of this mineral. Humboldt observes, that "neither Surgeon Hortsman, who passed from the Essequibo down the Branco, nor Don Antonio Santos, who went from Spanish Guyana over it to the Amazon, had seen it in its natural place. . . . A fine geographical discovery remains to be made in the eastern part of America ; that of finding, in a primitive soil, a rock of euphotide, containing the *pedras de macagua*."

But should this discovery be made, a difficulty would still exist—how it was worked into so many different forms ? "It is not," observes Humboldt, "the Indians of our day, the natives of the Oronoke and Amazon, whom we find in the last degree of barbarism, that pierced such hard substances, giving them the form of animals and fruits. Such works, like the perforated and sculptured emeralds which are found in the Cordilleras of New-Granada and Quito, denote anterior civilization."\*

Among the natives themselves, wherever these green stones are found, a very singular popular delusion prevails as to their origin. "I have been assured," says Barrere, "that a nation called Tapouyes, who live one hundred and fifty leagues above Para, on the Amazon, make them ; (the same nation from whom, according to Condamine, they are obtained,) that the material is a soft mud, of white color, which they work into a paste, and give it the figure and impression they desire. They keep the articles prepared for a certain time in the river. It is this water, they say, which gives the color, hardness, and polish to these stones." The same is stated by the Chev. des Marchais.† The greatest riches of the Galibis consists in necklaces of green stone, which come from the river Amazon, which is made of a mud they find at the bottom of certain places in the river ; and they make it into what forms they please. And Charlevoix speaks of a green stone with which the Haytians hollowed out their canoes ; and remarks, there never have been found in that island or elsewhere, quarries of this stone ; and the common opinion is, that they came from the river Amazon, the mud of which hardens, when exposed to the air."‡

Humboldt, having stated that a mineral of this kind has nowhere yet been found in Guyana, observes : "Although a distance of five hundred leagues, separates the banks of the Amazon and Oronoke from the Mexican table-land ; although history records no fact, that connects the savage nations of Guyana with the civilized nations of Anahuac ; the monk Bernard de Sahagun, at the beginning of the conquest, found green stones

\* Humboldt's *Per. Nar.* vol. 5, p. 463.

† *Trav. in Cayenne.* ‡ *History of St. Domingo.*

which had belonged to Quetzalcoatl, preserved at Cholula as relics. This mysterious personage is the Buddha of the Mexicans. He appeared in the time of the Toltecs; founded the first religious congregations; and established a government similar to that of Meroe and of Japan."

Concerning these green stones of Mexico, I have collected the following additional facts:

They are, according to Clavigero, the same mineral as those of Guyana. The Mexican name is Quetzalitzli; but they are commonly known by the name of the *nephritic* stone. The Mexicans formed of this mineral various and curious figures, some of which are preserved in different Museums in Europe.\* The Mexican jewellers not only had skill in gems, but likewise understood how to polish, cut, and work them; and made them into whatever form they chose. The green stone which I brought from Guyana, a scientific person in New-York, to whom I showed it, said, was the mineral "nephritic-jade."

Quetzalcoatl was, among the Mexicans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, the god of the air. At Cholula, two lofty pyramids were erected; one, to him or the Sun, with which he was identified; the other, to the Moon. The Cholulans preserved with great veneration some small green stones, very well cut, which they said had belonged to him.† Torquemada, who perfectly understood the Mexican language, and had those names repeated to him by the ancient people, says that the name of this deity signifies, "serpent clothed with green feathers." "In fact," says Clavigero, "*coatl* signifies *serpent*, and *quetzalli*, *green feathers*.‡ Quetzalitzli was the name of these stones. *Itzli*, is, in Mexican, *stone*. Hence, this word signifies green stones; or, by contraction, stones dedicated to, or belonging to, Quetzalcoatl. That the mineral, of which they are made, was found in Mexico, appears probable, from the following passage from the same author: "With respect to precious stones in Mexico, there were, and still are, diamonds, though few in number; amethysts, turquoises, cornelians, and some green stones resembling emeralds, and not much inferior to them; and of all these stones, the Mixtecas, Zapotecs, and Cohuixians, in whose mountains they were found, paid a tribute to the King."§

Green stones and green feathers, appertained, also, to the worship of Quetzalcoatl. "The usual ministers," observes Clavigero, "of the Mexican sacrifices, which were made to this deity, were six priests; the chief of whom, in the performance of his functions, wore a crown of *green* and *yellow* feathers; at his ears, hung gold ear-rings and *green* jewels; perhaps emeralds.||

Why the color of green was appropriated to this deity, it is not difficult to explain, as the effect of the heat and light of the sun is to promote vegetation, and clothe the earth with verdure.

\* Hist. of Mexico, vol. 1, p. 22.

‡ Clavigero, vol. 2, p. 14.—*Note*.

† Clavigero's Hist. of Mexico, vol. 2, pp. 11—14.

§ Clavigero, vol. 2, pp. 21.

|| Clavigero, vol. 2, p. 22.



The green stones of Guyana, are also held in the highest estimation. They appear, even, to be of a sacred character; "for they are covered," says Humboldt, "with inscriptions and figures;" an idea which is supported by the fact, that they are everywhere worn as amulets—from an opinion that they are a preventive of epilepsy, and some other disorders. For this reason, they are called by the Spaniards *piedras-hejadas*, or spleen-stones. The same opinion of them existed among the inhabitants of the West India islands, where they were found among the Charibees. Labat, who was a missionary among them, has even in a measure assented to this opinion. "It is not true," he says, "that they cure these disorders radically; but that they suspend them as long as they are worn by the person, placed between the skin and the flesh," he was convinced of by an actual experiment he made.

They were held by the Charibees in the highest regard. They were the most precious of their jewels. "They valued them," says Barrere, "more than we do gold or diamonds. The females believed themselves best arrayed, when they had several of them on. A necklace was the price of a slave." Sir Walter Raleigh met with them on the Oronoke, and observes, "Every King, or Cacique, had one, which their wives, for the most part, wear; and they esteem them as great jewels." These green stones were used in Guyana also, as a medium of exchange; for Lawrence Keymis, speaking of the Charibees, and some other Indians on the Arawari river, below the Oyapoke, observes, "All their money is of white and green stones;" and when at the Corentine, he remarks, "some images of gold and spleen-stones, are found along this coast; and the Indians do extraordinarily esteem them, for everywhere they are current money."\*

The inquiry now arises, in what manner did these green stones find their way into Guyana? Humboldt, it has been seen, considers the existence of them in this region very difficult to be accounted for, as history records no fact, that connects the savage nations of Guyana with the civilized nations of Anahuac, (the ancient name of Mexico.)

But, although the derivation of any of the nations of Guyana, has not been heretofore traced to Mexico—yet, as the ancient people of Peru, according to Garcillaso, and those of New-Grenada, as related by Herrera, came from it through the Isthmus of Darien; it is very probable, that some of the nations of Guyana, as well as those of other parts of South America, flowed from the same source. I have, at least, satisfied myself, that the Charibees—who are the most numerous and predominant nation of Guyana—had this origin; part of them spreading along the coast of Terra Firma, while another portion, probably, moved southwardly into New-Grenada, and thence, by some of the streams that flow south-eastwardly from the Andes, passed to the Amazon, and descended that river to its mouth; and then spread over Cayenne, and into the Brazils. These green stones may, therefore, have been brought into

\* Cayley's Life of Raleigh, vol. 2, p. 300.

Guyana by them, or other nations, who may have come there from the same region. But it is a more probable supposition, that they were brought from Mexico by the Amazons themselves, who may have been established some time in New-Grenada, before their final emigration into Guyana. To this conclusion, I think, we shall be led, by an examination of the question—whence it arises, that they are their peculiar ornaments and jewels, and are always obtained from them? And the answer to this question, will also explain the principal difficulty, in regard to the existence of this nation—why they have been suffered by the Charibees to remain in their state of separation from the other sex. I think the circumstance of their having these jewels, and wearing them as their peculiar ornaments, denote that they were originally attached to the worship of the Mexican divinity—to whom they were dedicated; that they were once a religious community of vestals, devoted to the service of the temples appropriated to his honor; that they are hence viewed by the Charibees emigrating from the same region, with feelings of reverence; and that it is from a sentiment of religion, and traditional ideas, that they, and other nations, suffer them to remain in their state of isolation.

This conjecture is supported by the following fact, related in Orellana's account of his Amazons. The last report which he heard of them, he gives as follows: "An Indian whom he had taken prisoner, informed him that the country was subject to women, who lived like Amazons, and were very rich in gold and silver, and had five temples of the Sun, plated with gold, &c." Allowing for much exaggeration in this account, there is nothing improbable in the fact stated, that they, like other Indians on the Amazon, had gold ornaments. In regard to the temples, plated with gold—it may only have been that they had gold plates hung up in them; that is, these ornaments; as a similar ambiguity in the word, as I have observed, perhaps gave rise to the idea of *golden tiles* on the roofs of the houses in Manoa. It is remarkable that this ambiguity has led Humboldt into a mistake regarding the Amazons of Guyana. He represents them as described by Raleigh, as having golden *vessels*, (out of which it was probably supposed they took their meals,) which they received in traffick for these green stones; while Raleigh actually says, "they have a great quantity of those plates of gold, (which he had before mentioned as golden ornaments, in the form of a crescent,) which they obtain in exchange for a certain kind of green stones."

The relation of Orellana is further rendered not so improbable, from the following account given by George de Espira, one of the adventurers who went in pursuit of El Dorado. He relates, that after leaving Coro and proceeding southerly, he crossed the Meta, then arrived on the banks of the Caqueta, or Yupura, which falls into the Amazon some degrees west of the Rio Negro;—the space between which and the latter river, as has been related, from the existence of native gold there, D'Acugna and Condamine both consider the locality to which the first expeditions in pursuit of Dorado, or the golden country, were directed. Near this river

Caqueta, or Yupura, Espira found a Casa del Sol, or temple of the sun, and a convent of Virgins, similar to those of Peru and New-Grenada.

It would not be extraordinary, if, on the conquest of those countries, and the emigration of the Indians consequent upon it, some of the vestal communities connected with the religious establishments there, after their destruction, should have also transplanted themselves.

The following relation, too, favors the idea of the religious character of the reported Amazons. "Orellana," says M. Carli, (*Lettres Americaines*) "though generally thought so, was not the first who gave an account of the Amazons. Nugno de Gusman sent to Charles V. a relation, dated July 8th, 1530, at Omitlan, in which, among other things, he says, that he has a design to penetrate in the province of Azatlan, to pass into the country of the Amazons, who, he said, lived ten days farther. Some say that they live on the sea; others, that they are on an arm of it, and that they are regarded as *goddesses*. They are said to be whiter than the other women of the country. The other particulars as to their warlike character, &c., are the same as those usually given.\*

And the name by which Orellana heard them called when he first heard of them, Coniapuyara, which signified *great ladies*, denotes that they were much respected, and considered as a community of a superior order. It was not applied to a few, or the Queens among them, but to the whole nation.

Martyr, also, relates the following instance of females living in this manner, as a religious community, on the coast of Yucatan: "Grijalva, sailing along this coast, came to a bay, in which were three small islands, in which sacrifices were made to great extent, which he called the islands of Sacrifices. There were other islands on the neighboring shores, in which only women lived, without intercourse with men. Some think they live in the manner of the Amazons. Those who have considered the matter best, suppose them to be virgins, dedicated to religious services, as nuns, or as the vestals among the Romans. At certain seasons of the year, they are visited by men, solely to prepare their fields and gardens for them. It is reported, also, that there are other islands inhabited by women, who excise the right breast, that they may the better use the bow and arrow; and that they are visited by men, who have intercourse with them, but do not keep the male children. But this," says Martyr, "I think a fable."†

Connected with the view I have taken of the probable origin of the Amazons from Mexico, is very interesting, and is rendered more so by the following fact, stated by Herrera:

James Lopez de Salvado, having been sent over from Spain to govern at Ybuerras, on the coast of Honduras, found, that in those parts, there were three principal idols worshipped in their several temples, and four leagues from Truxillo another, in a town twenty leagues distant, and the

third in an island fifteen leagues from that town. They had all the shape of women, made of a green sort of stone like marble.\*

One of the islands in the West Indies, belonging to the Charibean group, is also stated by the early writers, to have been inhabited, at the period of their discovery by Columbus, solely by women. His son Ferdinand, his biographer, observes, the Indians whom Columbus saw on the north coast of Hayti, (on his return to Europe in his first voyage,) being asked where the Charibees dwelt, pointed to the eastward; and said, that the island Matinino was all inhabited by women, with whom the Charibees cohabited at certain seasons of the year; and if they brought forth sons, they gave them to the fathers to carry away.†

And Columbus himself relates the same, in the letter he wrote to his royal patrons from Lisbon, on his return to Europe, giving an account of his discoveries.‡ “The islanders of Charis, next to Hispaniola, (which was St. Croix) he observes, are considered by their neighbors very ferocious, and are objects of great terror to them. They cohabit with a race of women, who are the sole inhabitants of another island, immediately succeeding Hispana. These women are not employed in the common occupations of their sex, but, like their husbands, carry bows and arrows, and are protected with plates of brass, with which their country abounds.”

Martyr relates, that Columbus heard of them also on his second voyage. On this voyage he first visited Guadaloupe, and thence sailed toward Martinique, which, says Martyr, the Indians he had on board, whom he had taken to Spain on his first voyage, as well as some who had fled to him at Guadaloupe from the Charibees, called Madaninna, and said it was inhabited solely by women,—as we heard on the first voyage—who were visited at a certain time of the year by the Cannibals, (the Charibees) and the sons born, sent to them to be brought up; but they retained the daughters with them. They are said to have subterranean retreats, to which, if the cannibals visit them at any other time than the stated period, they fly; and if their pursuers attempt to enter them, they protect themselves with their arrows, which they shoot with great dexterity.§

These relations have been considered, by some historians, entirely fabulous tales received from the Indians. A late writer thinks that the idea of such a female nation in that island, arose from the circumstance that the wives of the Charibees, were taught the use of the bow and arrow, and, in the absence of their husbands, were accustomed to defend themselves from the attacks of enemies.|| But the relation by Martyr represents this nation as living entirely distinct from men, and with all the circumstances mentioned of the Amazons, as they are called, of South America.

Concerning the question of the existence of such a nation in the West Indies, but a single remark is necessary. If the accounts given by the natives of South America, of a similar community on that Continent, are

\* Decade 3. book 2, ch. iii.

† Chap xxxvi, p. 46. in Churchill's Collection.

‡ This Letter is found in the Edinburgh Review, No. liv., Dec. 1816.

§ Decade, I.

|| Irving's Life of Columbus.

to be entirely discredited, the relations made to the early voyagers to the West Indies, respecting the inhabitants of Martinique, must be equally discarded. But if the evidence in favor of the existence of the former is too strong to be resisted, we cannot totally deny the reality of the latter. Infleed, if it is true that Guyana is the residence of the Amazons, and the Charibees are their mates or associates, it would seem not improbable, on the emigration of the Charibees to the islands, that some of them would accompany them, and maintain there the same state of society that previously belonged to them.\*

\* Appendix, No. IV.

THE END.



## APPENDIX NO. I.

RELATION of the Mariwin Inquirer, from Purchas's Collection of Voyages, Book 6, Chapter xvii. entitled, "Relation of the habitations, and other observations of the river Marwin," and which is placed immediately after the voyage made by Robert Harcourt to Guyana, in 1606.

Purchas states in the margin: "I found this fairly written among M. Hackluyt's papers, but know not who was the author." But that it was made by Fisher, called by Harcourt his "Cousin Fisher," whom he sent to explore the Mariwin, there can be no doubt, on comparing some passages in the account of the voyage of the former, with a part of the Relation.

Harcourt, on returning down the Mariwin, after his unsuccessful attempt to explore it, stopped at the third town from the mouth, of which Maperitaka and Arawakos were chief captains, and then observes: "At this town I left my cousin Fisher, an apothecary, and a servant to attend him, having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet and other necessaries, both for their travel and otherwise, who ever since, according to his promise, hath performed the part of an honest man and faithful friend." Of the information given by Fisher, he gives the following account: "When the waters of the Mariwin rose, and the river became passable, *he began the discovery thereof, in company of the apothecary, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteen others; and proceeded eleven days up the river, to a town of Charibees, called Taupuremune, distant from the sea above a hundred leagues, but was four days' short of Moresheego, which is also a town of the Charibees—the chief captain thereof is Areminta. He understood, by the relations of the Indians of Taupuremune and also of Areminta, that six days' journey beyond Moresheego, there are divers mighty nations of Indians, having holes through their ears, cheeks, nostrils, and nether lips, (whose names are mentioned,) and were, of strength and stature, far exceeding other Indians. What the Indians report of the greatness of their ears, I forbear to mention, until by experience we shall discover the truth thereof. That it was twenty days' journey from Taupuremune to the head of Mariwin, which is inhabited by Arawacas, Supprios and Paragotas, and some Yai-os; and that a day's journey from thence to the landward, the country is a plain and champaign ground, covered with long grass.*"

The following is an extract from the "Relation," &c. which I term that of the Mariwin Inquirer:

### TOWNS ON THE MARIWIN.

"Inprimis: Maracoun, a little village, so called, where the Arawacas dwell, &c. Secondly, a little village, so called, where likewise Arawacas dwell, &c. Thirdly, Moyyen, &c., lately inhabited by Pariawagotos and Yalen, whose chief

*captain is Maperiaka, being the captain with whom the General left us, and with whom we continue.*" He then mentions eleven towns in succession, all inhabited by Charibees, the last of which is Tapouremee. He then continues: "Twelfthly. A day's journey from thence, is a town called Mooreshego, whose inhabitants are Charibees. About some twenty days' journey from Mooreshego, is a town called Aretonenne, whose inhabitants be Careebies, having verie long ears hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to be a very gentle and loving people. *Some twenty days farther is the head of the River Marwin, where dwell Pariawagotos, Arwaccas, and Suppay, and after a day's journey in the land, they report the way to be very fair and champaign ground with long grass.*"

A further evidence that this is the journal of Fisher, is, that it principally consists of an account of "Manoa," spoken of by Sir Walter Raleigh, which is the information that he was particularly directed by Harcourt to obtain—as will appear by the following extract from it, which is the part from which I have made my quotations in the text:

"I was also informed by a Yaio, an ancient man, who came down the river Selinama (Surinam,) in a little canoe, with four others and a boy, (three of which were Arrawacs, and one Yaio, who was born in Orenoco, and, as I judge, about four-score years or little less,) who reported to me that he was one of them which, with Morequito and Putimay, was present at the killing of nine Spaniards and a Spanish Peda, and how Morequito was put to death, and a great many of his Indians hanged. Himself was taken prisoner, and pinched with pincers for his punishment, and his ears nailed to wood, which I conjecture was a Pillourie. . . . The reason why they put him not to death, was because he had been a great traveller, and knew the countries well; and so they kept him for a guide.

"It so chanced that the Spaniards, after his informing them of the Cassipagotos country, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it. The captain of the Spaniards was called Alexander, as he saith. But the Cassipagotos, knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out than to trust to his clemency, and so overthrew him and his companie, driving them to their canoes: in which fight he escaped. But yet afterward, it was his mishap to be again in the hands of his adversarie, by the means of Caripana, King of Emeria, and put in chains and handled cruelly. . . . Within some small space, he, with another Yaio and three Arwaccas, were chosen to goe a-fishing some two days' journey from the town. Likewise, there went as overseers over them four Spaniards; three of which, while they were a-fishing, went into the woods a-fowling, and the fourth, which was left for the overseer, by chance fell asleep; which they espying, agreed to release themselves, and to slip from the shore with their canoes, and went up Selinama, seven days' journey from the head thereof, to a town of the Arwaccas, called Cooropan, where he now dwelleth. And his name is Weepackea. . . . This Yaio told me of a mountain at the head of Dissikeebee, which is called Oraddoo, where is a great rocke of white spar, which hath streams of gold in it about the breadth of a goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also, he speaketh of a plaine which is some seven or eight days' journey from the mountaine, where is great store of gold, in grains as big as the top of a man's finger, and after the floods be fallen they find them; which plaine is called *Mumpara*.

"Further, he spoke of a valley not far distant from thence, which is called *Wancoabanona*, which hath the like; and he said they gather them the space of two moneths together! which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and gravel from the grasse, which groweth in tufts, and



then they may perceive the gold lie glistening on the ground. And of these they are very charie; and the captains and priests, or pecays, doe charge the Indians very strictly, yea, with punishment of the whip, that they be secret and not reveale it to the Spaniards. But it seemeth they are willing the English should have it, or else he would not have related so much of the state of his countrie.

"He spake very much of Sir Walter Raleigh. He likewise knew Francis Sparrow and the boy which Sir Walter left behind him at Topiaiwari his house. He further said, that Topiaiwari wondered that he heard not from Sir Walter, according to his promise; and how Topiaiwarie did verily thinke that the Spaniards had met with him and slaine him. . . . . He likewise said how Topiaiwary had drawn in the Indians of Wariwackeri, Amiariocopana, Wickeri, and all the people that belonged to Wanuritone, Captaine of Canuria, and Wacariopea, Captaine of Sayma, against Sir Walter his coming, to have warred against the Yeanderpureweis; and as yet Wanuretone and Wacariopea do expect his coming. He added, further, how he knew the two nations of Tivitivas, called Ciawani and Warawitty, who are forced in the floods to build their houses on the top of trees. And now, he saith, the Spaniard hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping divers of them to make and mend his canoes. Further, he knew Toparimaca, and sayth he is yet living and Captaine of Arawaca, a Napoy, who likewise doth expect Sir Walter his coming, and had drawn a company of Indians for the aide and assistance of Sir Walter. Likewise, how Putimay is yet living, and how the Spaniards have laid great waite for him, but could never finger him, to be revenged for his part of killing the nine Spaniards. Further, he addeth, how the Spaniards were killed at a mountain called Riconeri, in Putimay's countrie; and how Putimay expected long for Sir Walter Raleigh. Likewise, he saith how the Epurewei have now two very fair towns, one called Aruburguary, and the other Corburrimore; and saith they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher than their heads, which he called Wywaypanamy, and offereth to go up with me thither, if I come up in their high countrie; for since the death of Topiaiwary, they are friends, and bend their forces against the Spaniards. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge rocke, under a mountain's side, which is called Mattuick; that on a sunshine day, if a man looked on it, it would dazzle his eyes exceedingly. He showed me, before his departure from me, a piece of metal fashioned like an eagle, and, as I guess, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces, troy-weight. It seemed to be gold, or at least two parts gold and one copper. I offered him an axe, which he refused; to which I added four knives, but could not get it of him. But I imagine the Dutch at Selinama have bought it of him; for their only coming was for axes, as he said, hearing that the Dutch were at Selinama. I demanded where he had that eagle: his answer was, he had it of his uncle, who dwelt among the Wearapoyns, in the country called Sherrumerrimay, near the Cassipagotos countrie, where there is great store of these images. Further, he said, that at the head of Selinama and Mariwin, there were great store of the half-moones, which he called by the name of Unnatons.

"He likewise spake of a very fair and large city in Guyana, which he called Monooan, which I take to be that which Sir Walter called Manoa, which standeth by a salt lake, which he called Parroowan Parrocare Monooan, in the province of Asaeconca: the Chief Cap.ain or Acariwannora, as he called him, was called Pepodallapa.

"He further said, that after a man is up at the head of the river, and some ten days' journey within the land, every child can tell of the riches of Monooan. Further he addeth, how that once in every third year, all the Caciques or Lords

and Captains, some seven days journey from Manocan, do come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten days together, in which time they go sometimes a fishing, fowling and hunting; their fishing in the salt lake, where is abundance of canoes, which are very great. They have many fish-pools of standing water, wherein they have abundance of fish. They have a store of wild porkes and deer, and other beasts, which are very good meat. Their houses be made with many lofts, and partitions in them, but not boarded, but with bars of wood, only the lower floor on the ground is spread with clay, very smooth, and with fires hardened, as they do their pots; then, presently, they build their houses. Also, he affirmeth, that within the citie at the entering in of their houses, they hang Caracoore on the posts, which I take to be Images of gold.

"He likewise saith, that it is but a month's journey by land, from the head of Marawin to the head of Diasekeebee; and from the head of Diasekeebee to the head of Orenoq, a month's travel."

## APPENDIX NO. II.

THE following testimony is given by Sir Walter Raleigh, in an Appendix to his Narrative, in further support of the opinion he entertained of the wealth of Guyana, and the existence in it of the rumored El Dorado.

It consists of extracts of some Spanish letters, which he states were found in a prize vessel, taken by Capt. George Popham, in 1594, the year before his expedition, who, hearing of his discovery, on his own return to England, two month's after, delivered them to some of Queen Elizabeth's council." The authority of these papers cannot be questioned, as reference is thus publicly made to Captain Popham. Nor would Raleigh have made the assertion, that they were presented to the privy council, had such not been the case, which might also have been easily shown to be false. And, notwithstanding the attention given to his Narrative, and the detraction and ridicule which he, in consequence, received, it does not appear that any doubts were entertained of the genuineness of these letters.

Alonzo's letter from the Great Canaria, to his brother, being Commander of St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"There have been certain letters received here, of late, from a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that gold there is in great abundance. The course to fall in with it, is fifty leagues to the windward of Margueretta."

(The name of Nuevo Dorado, or the new El Dorado, was given to it, to distinguish it from the former sought by the Spaniards, southwest of the Rio Negro, toward the Amazon.)

Alonzo's letter from thence to certain merchants of St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"SIR: We have no news worth writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land, called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days' journey, sailing to the windward of Margueretta. There is gold in such abundance, as the like has not been heard of. We have it for certain, in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pur in my journey toward Carthagena. I have sent you these, with part of the information of this discovery, that was sent to his majesty."

This information is of great importance in the history of El Dorado, in this new locality. It has been remarked in the first chapter, that two years before the expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, an attempt for the discovery of it was made by Berreo, Governor of Trinidad, who had obtained a patent for the purpose, from the King of Spain. In furtherance of his object, he sent two officers to explore the Oronoke, who ascended to the residence of the Charibee chief, by whom they were well received: and the document referred to, in the above letter, is an account of this expedition, prepared by one of these officers, Domingo de Vera, who styles himself "Master of the Camp, and General for Antonio de Berreo, Governor General for our Lord the King—between the Oronoke and Amazon, and the Island of Trinidad."

He commences by stating, that on landing upon the Main, on the 23rd of April, 1593, he performed various ceremonies for taking possession of for Berreo, which claim of possession was afterward renewed before the Charibee chief. To this, Raleigh, in his remarks prefixed to these letters, observes: "Although the Spaniards seem to glory much in the formal possession taken before Morequito, (the Charibee chief,) it appears that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians there, having further consideration of the matter, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon the Borderers, and other of the Indians elsewhere, at their next coming, being ten of them employed, for a further discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before—that is, they slew and buried them in the country they so much sought. Other possession they have not had since. Neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other."

The master of the camp, having stated his taking possession of the country, goes on to say: "The first of May, they prosecuted the said discovery to the town of Carapana, the first chief on the river. We thence passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is Topiawari, uncle of Morequito, being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited. The fourth of May, we came to a province about five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in a peaceable manner; and he was called Revato. He brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreters asking from whence that gold was, he answered, 'From a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold, as all yonder plain will not contain it; in which country, when they enter unto their borracheras, or drunken feasts, they take of the said gold, in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith, to make the braver show, and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a gluey substance.' And they have war with those Indians. They promised us that, if we would go in unto them, they would aid us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same gold, we were told they went to a certain down or place, and pulled and digged up the grass by the root, which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder, they kept for their borracheras, or drunken feasts, and that which was a piece, they wrought into eagles. The eighth of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill, we found a principal, called Arataco, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison, in great abundance, and many sorts of wines. He entreated us to go to his house, and rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked where he had those hens. He said they

were brought from a mountain, not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as the grass on the ground; and if we would have any we should send them jewsharps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian, and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so many that he brought as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither. They told us they were now in their *borracheras*, or drunken feasts. We asked how they made these *borracheras*. *He said they had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, pearls in their ears, and that they danced being all covered with gold.* The Indian said unto us, if we would see them we should give him some hatchets. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet; he brought us an eagle that weighed twenty-seven pounds of gold. . . . The eleventh day of May, we went about seven leagues from thence, to a province where we found a great company of Indians, *apparelled*. They told us that, if we came to fight, they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter, and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians. And then they told us of all the riches that were. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it; but it shall appear by the information that goeth to his majesty."

The letter of George Burien Britton, from the said Canaries, unto his cousin, a Frenchman dwelling at St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

"Sir, and my very good cousin: there came of late, certain letters from a new discovered country, not far from Trinidad, which they write hath gold in great abundance; the news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good among the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his majesty, goeth inclosed in Alonzo's letters. It is a thing worth the seeing."

Report of Domingo Martinez, of Jamaica, concerning El Dorado.

"He saith, that in 1593, being at Carthagena, there was a general report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it a portraiture of a giant, all of gold, of weight forty-seven quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol."

The Report of a Frenchman, called Bourtellier, of Sherbrooke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

"He saith, being at Trinidad, in 1591, he had of an Indian there a piece of gold, of a quarter of a pound, in exchange of a knife. The said Indian told him he had it at the head of that River, which cometh to Paracoa in Trinidad; and that, within the River of Oronoke, it was in great abundance, &c."

Reports of certain merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

"They said that Nuevo Reyno yieldeth very many gold mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was discovered a certain province, so rich in gold, as the report thereof may seem incredible. It is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery."

The Report of a Spaniard, Captain with Berreo in the discovery of El Nuevo Dorado.

"That the information sent to the King was, in every point truly said; that the river Oronoke hath seven mouths or outlets to the sea, called Las Siete Bocas de Dragon; that the said River runneth far into the land, in many places very broad; that Antonio de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to go and conquer and people the said Dorado.\*

## APPENDIX NO. III.

For a more full account of the bravery and warlike character of the Charibees, I extract the following passage from my History of this nation :

" It is unquestionable, that the wives of the Charibees engaged in the warlike encounters of their nation, and that they were trained to possess a physical activity and energy, and a hardihood of character, analogous to the character of their husbands.

" Of the Cumanians, (a branch of this nation,) Martyr remarks, that the females run, swim, and leap as the men. On the coast of Paria, (which also was inhabited by some of this nation,) Ogilby observes, the women oftentimes, without any boat or floating pieces of timber, venture two or three leagues into the sea. They follow the men in wars, and carry their provisions and weapons, to which labor they are so much used, that they will bear on their shoulders, fifty leagues together, such luggage as three Spaniards are scarce able to lift from the ground."\*

The ordeal which the father underwent on the birth of his sons, from a strange idea that his patient endurance of it would impart bravery to them, was sometimes practiced in the case of the daughters. And Lafitan says, that among the Charibees in Brazil, when females arrived at the age of about fourteen, they were themselves to undergo an ordeal, which he thus describes : Their hair is first cut close to the head or burnt off. They are then made to stand on a flat stone, and the officiator, with the tooth of the Agoutis, makes two gashes down their back from each shoulder obliquely in the form of a cross, and several other cuts, which causes the blood to flow, and, though the pain they feel they manifest by the grinding of their teeth, and their contortions of body, not a single sigh escapes them. The gashes are then rubbed with the ashes of a wild gourd, which greatly aggravates the pain, and renders them ineffaceable. Then their arms are tied close to the body, which is bound round with cotton cord, and round their necks are hung the teeth of a certain animal, and they are placed in a hamack, in which they are so enveloped as not to be seen. In this situation they remain three days without being allowed to converse with any one, and keeping a very strict fast, without eating or drinking the least of anything. At the end of the three days they are to be taken from the hamack, and placed upon the flat stone, being not yet allowed to touch the earth, and then unbound. After which they are returned to the hamack, to remain in it a month, living only on some uncooked roots, a little farina, (the meal of manioc,) and water, and wholly prohibited from eating anything else. At the end of the month, they are taken from the hamack, and cut over the whole body, from head to foot, in a more cruel manner than in the first operation. They are then placed in the hamack, to remain there a second month and undergo another abstinence, not quite so rigorous as the last ; but are not allowed, during

\* Ogilby's Hist. of America.

this time, to leave the hammock a moment, nor converse with any one; and are obliged to be occupied continually with picking and spinning of cotton. At the expiration of the second month, they are rubbed over the whole body with a black dye, and commence again to work in their fields.\*

That the wives of the Charibees assisted their husbands in their wars, and fought like them, there is no want of evidence. Of the Islanders Martyr remarks: "Both sexes possess great power from the use of the bow and poisoned arrows. When their husbands are at any time absent from their homes, they protect themselves from injurious aggressions in a manly manner.†" And Columbus, on his discovery of the Antilles, witnessed several instances of female bravery. In the account given in the first chapter of his progress through these islands, I have observed, that on his second voyage one of his boats had an encounter at St. Croix with a canoe of the Charibees, in which were four men and as many women, which were taken. Herrera adds the following particulars: "As the canoe approached, both men and women discharged their arrows with astonishing rapidity; and before the Spaniards could cover themselves with their shields, one of the men was killed by an arrow shot by a woman, who wounded another severely. One of the females shot with such force as to pierce through a target. There was a female in the canoe, who, from the respect paid to her, seemed to be a queen. She was accompanied by a son, a youth of a robust form and terrific look. The Spaniards then ran their boat forcibly against the canoe, and overset it. But the Indian women, as well as the men, while swimming in the water, with not less activity sent forth their darts against the Spaniards; and collecting on a covered rock, strenuously defended themselves, but were at length taken, one being killed."‡ "In this skirmish the Indians used poisoned arrows, and one of the Spaniards died within a few days, of a wound he had received from a female warrior.§"

¶ On the second visit made by Columbus to Guadaloupe, on his return to Spain, on his sending a boat ashore, before reaching it, the men beheld the sight of an assemblage of many females on the beach, coming forward with bows and arrows to hinder their landing. The boat not being able to land, as the sea ran high, he sent two of the Indians he had on board swimming, to inform them they came only for provisions; on which they replied that they should go to the other side of the island, where their husbands were. The ships proceeding thither, a great multitude of men appeared, shooting great flights of arrows; and the boats firing on them and wounding some, they fled to the mountains. Columbus sent on shore a party of men who brought away, as captives, forty females and three boys. One of the females, who was the wife of the Cacique, possessed so much strength and agility as almost to resist the attempts of the Spaniards to take her. One of the men, a native of the Canaries, extremely swift of foot, had great difficulty in overtaking her, for she ran like a stag; and when she perceived she was likely to be overtaken, she turned, clasped him in her arms, and would have strangled him had not others come to his assistance."||

The Charibees of the Continent possess the same character. (I omit several instances which I have recited in the present volume, and add only the following:)

Herrera relates that in the expedition made in 1532, by De Heredia, for the conquest of Caramari,¶ (now Carthagena,) the inhabitants of which considered themselves descended from the Charibees, in an engagement which he had with some Indians, in which they fought furiously with poisoned arrows, and clubs of hard wood, "the maidens fought as well as the men." And "there was one," says a

\* Laptan, vol. 2, p. 10. † Martyr, Dec. 1.

‡ Irving's Columbus, book 6, chap. iii.

† Herrera, Dec. 1, book 2, chap. vii.

¶ Herrera, Dec. 1, book 2, chap. i. † Dec. 2.

writer, quoted by Purchas, "who, before they could take her, being about eighteen years old, slew with her bow eight Spaniards."\*

But this trait is not peculiar to the females of the Charibees. Instances of it are met with, also, among other American Indians. "Before the time of the Incas," observes Herrera, "the inhabitants of Peru went naked, wandered about in flocks like the Arabs, without houses or settled dwellings, except only some caves, and some made fortresses on the highest hills, where they settled, to fight with their neighbors for the tilled lands. At that time a very brave man, called Zapona, started up in the province of Callao, who subdued a considerable part of it; and the Indians say the war was carried on very resolutely by some women, who, for their defence, made several walls of dry stone, trenches and forts, of which there are some remains to be seen at this day. These women having done wonders, were at last vanquished by Zapona, and their name forgotten."

This trait is also found among the females of some North American Indians. "The Choctaws," observes Bossu, "love war and are acquainted with stratagems, &c. Some of their women are so fond of their husbands as to go to the wars with them. They stand by their sides in the battle, with a quiver full of arrows, and encourage them, telling them they ought not to fear their enemies, but die as true men."† In the narrative of De Soto's expedition to Florida, we have also a particular account of the martial bravery of some Indian women. He had a serious encounter with some Indians at a place he calls Mauville, (now Mobile,) which lasted seven hours; but they seeing the number of men they had lost, while the fire of their enemies increased, implored the aid of the women, and called on them to revenge the death of the many brave Indians who had been killed. All this time some women were already fighting at the side of their husbands, but as soon as they were thus called on, they all ran *en masse*, some with bows and arrows, others with swords, halberds and lances which the Spaniards had left in the street, which they adroitly made use of. They all placed themselves in front of their husbands, and full of rage and hatred braved the danger and exhibited a courage beyond their sex. But as soon as the Spaniards saw they fought only against women, and that they sought rather to die than be conquered, they spared them, not even wounding one.‡ De Soto afterward attacked another village, called Tula, where a similar scene occurred. The inhabitants, who were unapprised of his approach, took up arms as soon as they saw the Spaniards, sallied out against them, and were seconded by many women, who fought very valiantly. The Spaniards broke through them and pushed on to the town, when the combat became warmer, for the Indians and their wives fought in despair, and showed they preferred death to slavery. It becoming late, De Soto sounded a retreat and returned to camp, much surprised at the courage of the Indians, and principally of their wives, who combatted with more obstinacy than the men.¶

But this was also the character of the females of the Scythians, between whom and the Charibees so many strong points of resemblance have been shown to exist. The Scythians, says Justin, have been as much distinguished by the valor of their females as by the victories of their warriors, and when the great exploits performed by their men and by their women are considered, it is uncertain which sex among them was most conspicuous. The wives of the Sarmatians, (Sauromatæ) who sprung from the Scythians, observes Herodotus, pursue the chase on horseback, sometimes with, and sometimes without their husbands, and dressed in the

\* Purchas, book 5, chap. i.

† Hist. Louisians, vol. 1. p. 294.

‡ Garcillaso, Hist. Conquest of Florida by De Soto, vol. 2. p. 293.

¶ Garcillaso, Hist. Conquest of Florida by De Soto, vol. 2. pp. 406-8.



habits of men, frequently engage in battle. With respect to their institutions of marriage, no female is permitted to marry, until she first shall have killed an enemy. They married several wives, and carried them with them to war, and even to battle. The same character belonged to the wives of the Tartars, who were another branch of the same nation. "The Tartars of Great Bucharia," says Abul Ghazi, "pride themselves on being the most robust and brave of all the Tartars. The women of this country, also, value themselves for an approved bravery. They often go to war with their husbands, and do not fear to come to blows upon occasions." "The Tangasi are good horsemen, and their wives and daughters ride as well as themselves. They never go out without being well armed, having also the reputation of managing their arms very dexterously."

## APPENDIX NO. IV.

HAVING closed my examination of the different relations made by Sir Walter Raleigh in the Narrative of his expedition to Guyana, I cannot avoid referring to the noble and elevated sentiments which he possessed, and are exhibited in his writings, as affording the strongest evidence that he was incapable of the deception and fabrication imputed to him by his enemies in that publication; and for this purpose, I extract from his Biography by Mr. Cayley two pieces: First, a letter which he wrote to Prince Henry, the son of King James, and heir-apparent to the throne,\* who in his adversity proved his steady friend; and which I select with more pleasure, as affording also a specimen of his literary ability, as it is believed that for vigor of style, elegance of language, and elevation of sentiment, few compositions in the English language surpass it. The other piece is entitled "Instructions to his Son and to posterity;"† in perusing which, we cannot but admire the diversity of talent which he exhibited. We behold him, at one time, seizing with enthusiasm the bold and magnificent project of achieving the conquest of a rich and splendid empire in a distant country—an enterprise attended with the utmost risk and difficulty: at another, studying the philosophy of ordinary life, and, with the sagacity of a Bacon or a Franklin, laying down rules to regulate the conduct of man in all his private relations and daily intercourse.

### SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO PRINCE HENRY.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS:

"The following sheets are addressed to your highness, from a man who values his liberty and a very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honors that he could anywhere enjoy under any other establishment. You see, sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's vicegerent; which ill men have turned both to the dishonor of God, and the impeachment of his majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under such gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, oh! my prince; hear them not, fly from their deceits. You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the Fountain of good to do

evil? No, my prince, let mean and degenerate spirits, which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

"Let me not doubt, but all plans which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

"Exert yourself, oh, generous prince, against such sycophants, in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free-agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While your highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common-places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking, is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend your highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies, of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose, therefore, to be the king or the conqueror of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive.

"I am, sir,

"Your highness's most faithful servant,

"WALTER RALEIGH

"LONDON, August 12, 1611."

## SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON,

### AND TO POSTERITY.

#### CHOICE OF FRIENDS. <sup>1</sup>

THERE is nothing more becoming any wise man, than to make choice of friends ; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them, therefore, be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy. For if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate ; for so shalt thou make thyself a bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself alway to his mercy. And, be sure of this thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment ; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such, therefore, as are thy inferiors, will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them, they will hate thee ; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will alway be had.

And if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things ; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast ; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee,) then therein trust no man ; for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember alway, that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such labor for themselves and not for thee ; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honor ; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness. And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would ; and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it and have tasted it in all the course of my life. When thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the best, so long as they do well ; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate before all others. For the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow ; but let reason be thy school-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright."

## CHOICE OF A WIFE.

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife. And the only danger therein, is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires; leaving the care of honor, credit, and safety, in respect thereof. But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and, therefore, better to be borne withal in a mistress, than in a wife. For when thy humor shall change, thou art yet free to choose again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty.) Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that, which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her: so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years.

And, therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link; after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love. Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches. Have care therefore both together; for if thou have a fair wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honor. For I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, *favor is deceitful and beauty is vanity*; she saith farther, *that a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness*.

Have therefore evermore care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations. First, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee, in conversation without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred. Let her have equal part of thy estate while thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy. For he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine; and shall possess the quiet of thy labors, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her

widowhood. For if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livedst upon earth while it lasted. To conclude; wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them, and diminish them; either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be toward thirty. For as the younger times are unfit, either to choose or to govern a wife and family, so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost. And better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *there is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death*; for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow, therefore, thy youth so, that thou mayst have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof. While thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath its evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again. Use it therefore as the spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

### FLATTERERS.

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfection, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies, as thou shalt never, by their will discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will without warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue, they are base, creeping, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling; it is said by Isaiah in this manner, *my people, they that praise thee, seduce thee and disorder the paths of thy feet*. And David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious, and full of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog,

labor as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayst be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred : for there are few men that can endure it, every man, for the most part, delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

### QUARRELS.

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons ; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with ruffians. For thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayst get honor to thyself, and safety to thy prince and country. But if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour ; for honor and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil ; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, *he that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life*. Do therefore right to all men, where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love ; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true, (if thou be not constrained,) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country ; for there is nothing more dishonorable (next to treason itself,) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee, for any respect, lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace ; for better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself. If it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thyself ; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law ; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonored. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons ; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own ; but if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honor, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much, also, is a sign of vanity ; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds ; and, as Solomon saith, *the mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth, or thinketh, he uttereth*. And by thy words and discourses men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed ; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds*. Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest ; whether touching religion, state, or vanity ; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane ; if in the second, dangerous ; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a city without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue ; therefore, if thou observest this rule

all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err. Restrain thy choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to Solomon, *life and death are in the power of the tongue*; and as Euripides truly affirmeth, *every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate*; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised speech; and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men's estates; that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for, assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper or respected among worthy or wise men.

Take heed, also, that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man; he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. John saith, *that it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs, *that God hateth false lips*; and *he that speaketh lies shall perish*. Thus thou mayest see and find in all the books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good, except in the extremity of saving life; for a liar is a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

### PRESERVATION OF ESTATE.

Among all other things of the world, take care of thy estate; which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things. First, that thou know what thou hast, what everything is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend anything before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is, the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men.

If any friend desire thee to be his security, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all; for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself, than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a rich man, it need not. Therefore from suryateship, as from a man-slayer, or enchanter, *bless thyself*; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for



whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy ; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar ; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Beside, poverty is oft-times sent as a curse of God ; it is a shame among men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit ; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to show them ; thou shalt be a burden, and an eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company ; thou shalt be driven basely to beg and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts ; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, *that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship, is sure*, it is farther said, *the poor is hated even of his own neighbor, but the rich have many friends*. Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou ledest him, count it but lost. Be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

### SERVANTS.

Let thy servants be such as thou mayst command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages ; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep ; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterward for tediousness neglect it. I myself, have therefore lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn ; and beside, 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, who else would be honest.

### BRAVE RAGS.

Exceed not in the humor of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion ; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion ; and no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

### RICHES.

On the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means ; destroy no man for his wealth, nor take anything from the poor ; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonorable before worthy men, to wrest anything from the needy and laboring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein. But use thy poor neighbors and tenants well, pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expenses to thyself. *He that hath pigs*

on another man's sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept, *he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor who are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labor to live, such as are old and cannot travail, such poor widows and fatherless children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expenses; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curse thee, in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

## WINE.

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honor or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men, hated in thy servants, in thyself and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And, remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

Take heed, therefore, that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father. Anacharsis saith, *the first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness*; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And, therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body, by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat; and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art. *Who have misfortune*, saith Solomon, *who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.* Pliny saith, *wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.*

Whosoever loveth wine, shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends, will despise thee. In drink, men care not what they say, what offence they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain; and yet by *drunkenness and gluttony*, (which is the drunkenness of feeding,) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous, old age. And St.

Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner; *ebrietas est blandus demon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum not facit, sed ipse est peccatum. Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.*

Innocentius saith, *quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Fæcundi calices quem non fecere disertum? What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; who uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? There is no secrecy where drunkenness rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?*

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, *I thought at the last, quoth Diogenes, he would spew out a whole house; sciebam inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

## GOD.

Now, for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavors to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown he confound all thy fortunes and labors, like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace!

# APPENDIX NO. V.

## VOCABULARIES

OF THE

### LANGUAGES OF FIVE INDIAN NATIONS IN GUYANA.

	ACKOWAY.	ATORAY.	MACOUSHIE.	TIBERACOTTI.	GUARANO.
Supreme Being,	Maire,*	Wyeseemeere,			Kwareesabarote.
Evil Spirit,		Parai,			Haiboo.
Man,	Warno,	Yuwansai,			Naiboora.
Woman,	Woreesan	Reanaro,			Toera.
Head,	Ayupai,	Rearwoo,	Oopopu,	Oputpa,	Kwa.
Eyes,	Ayainu,	Pandalee,	Wianu,	Oneana,	Moo.
Mouth,	Onda,	Owo,	Oondah,	Opota,	Moko.
Hair,	Ayunasai,		Apeupi,	Oupootpi,	Heeco.
Hand,	Yaieena,	Achta,	Quemya,		Mamoochoo.
Foot,	Ochta,	Pee,	Oboro,	Oupti,	Honoo.
Heart,	Alyairairee,		Ooropata,	Oyawa,	
Bone,			Yapo,	Ouyapti,	Mohoo.
Blood,	Amoune,	Caraisepe,			Hotoo.
Father,			Papa,	Papa,	Eena.
Mother,			Mama,	Ema,	Anee.
Brother,			Meko,	Pekii,	Aka.
Sister,			Worehe,	Aneahou,	Achu.
Death,	Es-e-waireesa,	Camaiepo,			Haikoonso.
Fire,	Achpo,	Teekairee,	Api,	Apoto,	Obeo.
Earth,	Kiapou,				Ho.
Water,	Touna,	Wonee,			Yaa.
Sun,	Waiyu,		Way,	Way,	Waneeekoo.
Moon,	Capoui,		Capoui,	Nyano,	Nahamootoo
Star,			Serika,	Serika,	Aha.
Wind,	Cooranahoo,				
Thunder,	Waranabee,		Woronope,	Pikerara,	
Lightning,	Capa-capai,		Azanzema	Ewathanie,	
Rain,	Toona,	Woonee,	Cono,	Conopo,	
Day,	Taiwinkoree,	Sedahana,			
Mouth,	Capouee,	Bodalee,			
Hill,		Canoco,			
Island,	Pao,				Hotakwi.
River,	Toonansai,	Padeekuoe	Toonacashaza,	Kipug,	Booroho.
Yellow,	Teekainai,		Sanaqupong,	Tippara,	Naba.
Red,	Yabeelai,		Eehuawaw,	Tapera,	
Black,	Takarai,		Orie,	Tekewa,	
White,	Ayemootou,		Tinoonung,	Taumutna,	
Tree,	Etalboo,	Atamooz,	Yioa,	Yaa,	Daocna.

	ACKOWAYS.	ATORAY.	MACOUSSIE.	TIBERACOTTI.	GUARANO.
House,	Yaiwootoo,		Houta,	Houta,	Hano.
Arrow,					Hataboo.
Bow,	Woorapai,	Ooboonee,			Hotoobooroo.
Stave,			Pitarie,	Opito,	
Hamack,			Outa,	Koukame,	Haa.
Knife,	Yatawari,	Marce,	Pawara,	Marea,	
Maize,	Eekan,	Marcesee,	Aanie,	Kiawa,	Nowcom.
Plantain,	Platana,	Cheere,	Piruru,	Pratana,	
Sweet Potatoe,	Shaak,		Saa,	Yaako,	Orairai.
Cassava,			Kisa,	Kiroy,	
Tobacco,	Conica,	Shooma,	Kawi,	Kawi,	
Salt,	Pank,	Daiwoo,	Pama,	Wiyou,	
Fowl,	Caroweena,	Cararee,	Kareweera,	Karaka,	
Good,	Wakeeton,		Wak,	Patie,	
Bad,	Oreeton,	Karan,	Hirera,	Maropema,	
More,	Tookai,	Pakeekoo,			
Long,	Koosan,	Moonarahee,	Coosan,	Apura,	Boomoita.
Wide,	Saneemai,				Kabooredasa.
Little,	Aikaiseelee,	Seerde,			Sameekeera.
Great,	Aikai,	Eehailoe,	Ohi	Kioah,	Ooreeda.
One,	Taiwin,	Banancee,			Eeshaka.
Two,	Oko,	Badaseekoe,			Manamoo.
Three,	Orowa,	Osororow,			Dehanamoo.
Four,	Okopui,				Oorabookaioo.
Five,	Taiwinyaleena, (one hand)				Moochabasee.
Six,					Moomtaineesak
Twenty,	Owee Carena, (one person)				Warow-eesak. (one person)

\* This word I take from the Travels of Grillett and Bechamel in Cayenne, in 1674.

## APPENDIX NO. VI.

The following Table exhibits a comparison of the Arrowack, Atoray, Maypure, Moxos, and Quichua languages; the words from the two first, taken from vocabularies I made in Guyana, one of which is in Appendix No. III., the others from Professor Vater's Mithridates, except where noted:

	ARROWACK.	ATORAY.	MAYPURE.	MOXOS.	QUICHUA.
Water,	Wooni,	Woonie,	Ueni,	Uni,	Uni.
Fire,	Hekehe,	Tekairee,	Catti,	Jucu,	
Heaven,	Ayamooni,		Eno,	Anumo,	
Moon,	Katchi,		Kejape,		
Honey,	Maba,		Mapa,	Mopomo,	Mapa.
Maize,	Bizeesee,	Mareesee,			* Muruchu.
Pepper,	Hachi,				† Uchu.
Nose,	D'aseerec,		‡ N'ukiri,	‡ N'usiri,	
Eye,	D'acoosee,			N'uehii,	
Hand,	D'ackaboo,	Achta,	N'uchabi,	N'ubos,	
Arm,	D'asinna,			N'uanna,	
Woman,	Heao,	Reanaro,			

\* Garcillaso's Commentaries on Peru, Book 8, chap. 9, p. 318: "Their maize is of two kinds, one of which they call *muruchu*."

† Garcillaso's Commentaries on Peru, Book 8, chap. 9, p. 318: "Their red pepper they call *uchu*, which is the same as the Spaniards call *acri*, (the Haytian name for it.)"

‡ The (N) prefixed to these words, and those which follow in the same lists, is probably only a pronoun, as the letter (D,) the first in the corresponding words of the Arrowack, is the pronoun *di*, in that language, signifying *my*."

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## ERRATA.

- Page 5—31st line, add *and* after *rival*.  
 18—33rd " for *them* read *him*.  
 19—38th " for *thus* read *then*.  
 39th " for *three* read *two*.  
 27—37th " for *port* read *post*.  
 44—11th " for *theory* read *History*.  
 48—29th " for *natives* read *nations*.  
 53—4th " for *political* read *poetical*.  
 55—14th " for *festuta* read *fistula*.  
 14th " for *canulla* read *canella*.  
 56—15th " for *the* read *other*.  
 60—32nd " for *black ground* read *white ground*.  
 80—4th " for *were* read *was*.  
 30th " for *southwardly* read *northwardly*.  
 81—after end of last line, add, *whom removed to the region of Parima, and proba..*  
 82—18th line, for *their* read *his*.  
 84—13th " for *advertised* read *adventured*.  
 94—11th " *In 1775* to be inserted before *Don Manuel*.  
 101—33rd " for *resolved* read *revolved*.  
 133—18th " for *them* read *their husbands*.  
 139—39th " after *Mexico* add *this relation*.

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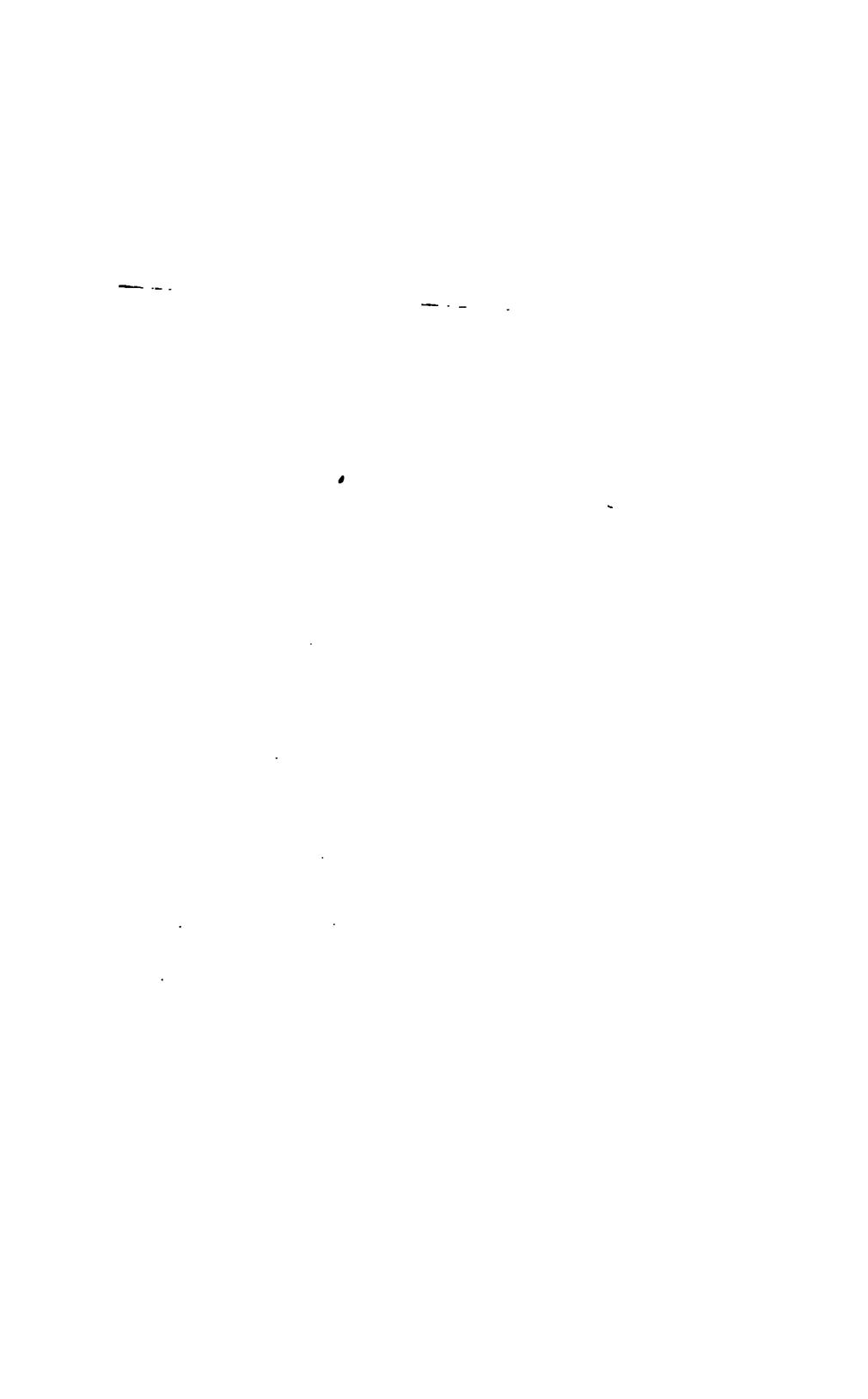
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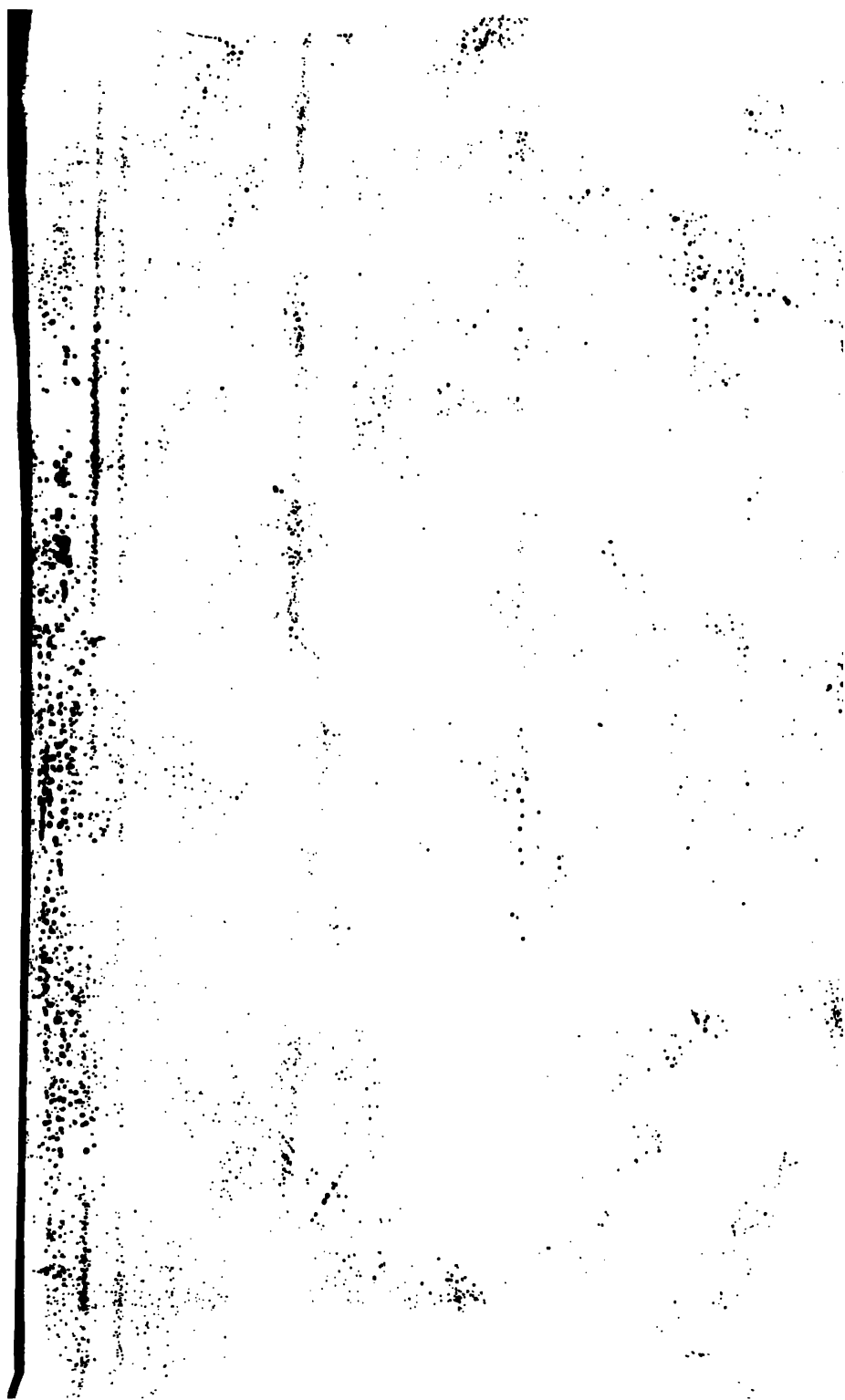
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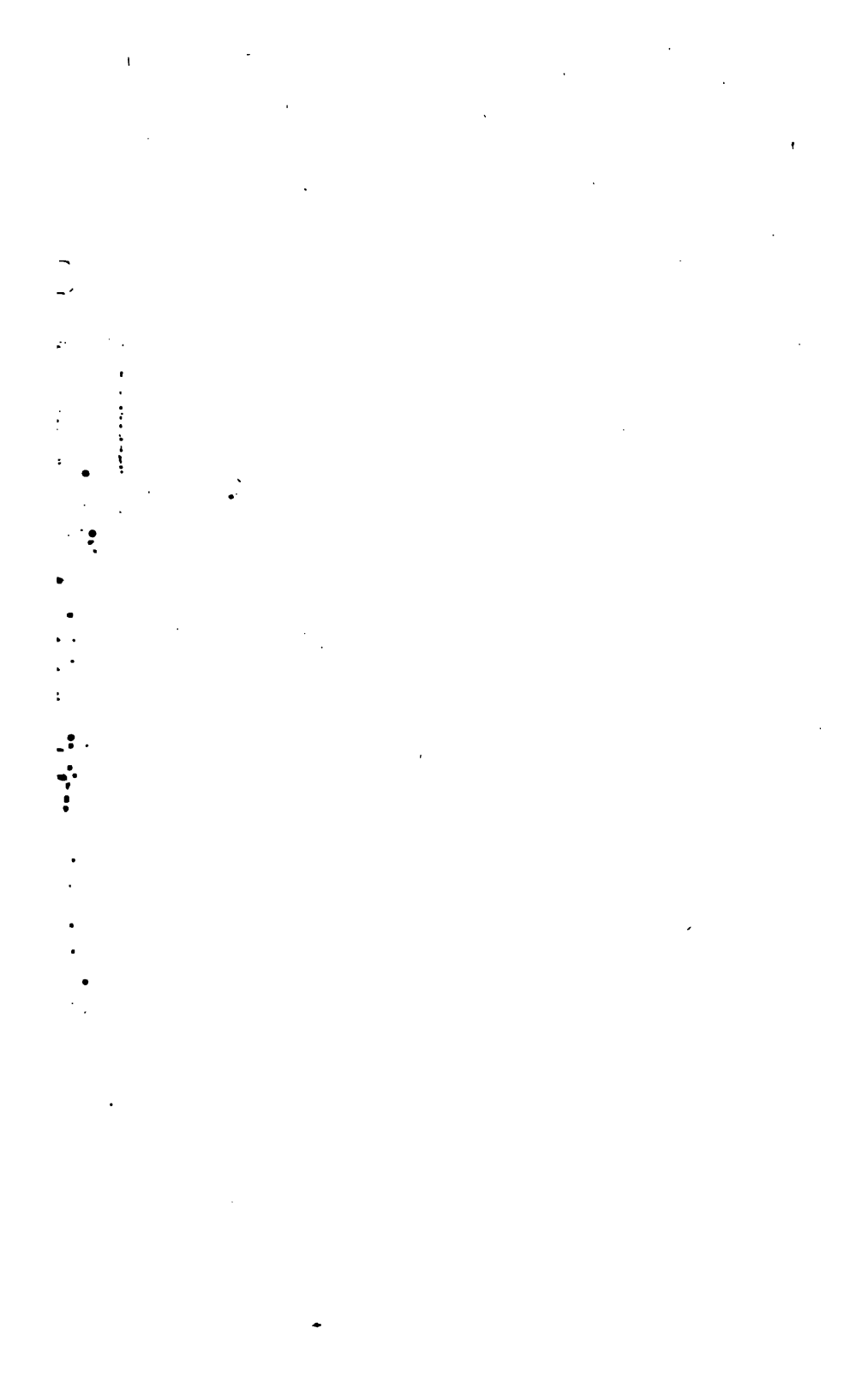
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